THE TIMES

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74th Year

19 SEPTEMBER 1975

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Second-class Greeks

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SARAH B. POMEROY :

Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves

Women in Classical Antiquity

265pp. New York : Schocken Books. $8.95.

The indexes of the two great social and economic histories of the Hellenistic world and of the Roman empire by Michael Ivanovitch Rostovtzeff have no entries under the heading "Women". There are, naturally, many books containing information about women in antiquity, and *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves* by Sarah B. Pomeroy contains a useful selection from her own extensive bibliography published in *Arethusa* for 1973. But systematic treatment of the subject has hardly been attempted; apart from two slight sketches by the German Theodor Birt (1932) and the Italian U. E. Paoli (1953), an admirable but brief paper on the equality of the sexes by Joseph Vogt in the Mainz Academy's proceedings for 1960 and J. P. V. D. Balsdon's *Roman Women* (1962; very readable, and informative about the upper reaches of society) very little can be cited. This is strange, when one considers the importance and the difficulty of some of the problems presented by the social situation of women in the ancient world.

Anyone who asks why the status of women was at no time and no place in ancient history lower than it was during the fifth century BC in Athens, supposedly the most advanced city of that age, will do so more profitably in the context of a general study of women's position in antiquity; and it is so with many other problems. In our own time, when the position of women is as much a burning topic as it has ever been, it is specially interesting to inquire into the nature of the restrictions which the societies of Greece and Rome imposed upon their female members.

The historian who attempts a serious study of this topic requires a very special training and equipment. He needs to be familiar with ancient law and with the various sources from which we know it, and with the record of transactions affecting women preserved in inscriptions and papyri. He must not only know the literary texts but must interpret them with skill and caution. The question of the value of imaginative literature as a source of information about the character and status of women is very delicate; it will not do to assume as carelessly as many scholars have done that the depiction of Bronze Age heroines in fifth-century tragedies is firsthand evidence for the nature of the women known to the tragedians.

He must have direct acquaintance with a vast mass of details preserved in inscriptions, in papyri and in works of art of many kinds; and he must know how to select the items that are representative or significant and how to proceed from the particular to the general, while always making full allowance for the incompleteness of the surviving evidence. He must be able to employ the techniques of modern anthropology and of sociology; in particular he must know how to utilize the results of demographic analysis, which has for some time been profitably applied to the study of the ancient world, without ever forgetting that in most instances both the nature and the extent of the evidence available enjoin the greatest caution.

Professor Pomeroy fulfils every one of these requirements. She was a pupil of the papyrologist of Columbia University, John Day, who was himself a pupil of Rostovtzeff, and she is admirably equipped for the strenuous task which she has chosen.

A study of the topic from the Bronze Age to Constantine is in some ways even harder to produce if it is on this scale than it would be if it were in several volumes. But Professor Pomeroy contrives to offer a great quantity of detailed information, and the book is so well organized and the balance between the different topics so skilfully maintained, that every item has its proper place within the whole. She is fully conscious of the complexity of the subject, and never oversimplifies; but she has a gift for concise and trenchant generalization on the right occasion. The work is written with a scholarly detachment far removed from any partisan approach; but Professor Pomeroy's standpoint is clearly that of a reasoned and enlightened sympathy with women's aspirations. Scholars will find the book indispensable, and any general reader interested in the topic will find it both instructive and enjoyable. The need for a full-length study remains, and Professor Pomeroy is obviously the person who should undertake it: but the existence of this book renders that need appreciably less urgent.

Professor Pomeroy begins by arguing that the subordination of Greek women is reflected in the nature of the Olympian pantheon. Men, she thinks, fearing the fully realized female, personified different female attributes in different goddesses. "The fact that modern women are frustrated by being forced to choose between being an Athena—an intellectual, asexual career woman—or an Aphrodite—a frivolous sex object—or a respectable wife and mother like Hera shows that the Greek goddesses continue to be archetypes of female existence. If the characteristics of the major goddesses were combined", she writes, "a whole being with unlimited potential for development—a female equivalent of Zeus or Apollo—would emerge." She considers theories about a primitive earth religion centring on goddesses and supposed to have been displaced by the religion of Zeus and his siblings and offspring and about an early period of matriarchy, but prudently recognizes that the evidence for their existence is insufficient. Inspiration comes to heroes, she remarks, chiefly from the virgin goddesses; she approves of the idea that "these men could feel secure only with a virgin".

But Hera was the patroness of Jason, and doubtless favoured Argive heroes in the Theban epic as she does in the *Iliad*; etymology suggests that in the early stages of the myth she was the friend, and not the enemy, of Heracles. Her ability to hold her own in domestic conflict might be held to indicate that in early times not all Greek wives were helpless victims.

Professor Pomeroy finds that the early Greek epic shows little trace of "the misogyny that taints later Greek literature"; she admirably describes the great female characters of Homer. Were women prized because so few were reared, and because they were useful when it came to gift-exchanges? At any rate, they had a status at this time which they seem to have lost later; but one must remember that most of the women described by Homer came from the upper reaches of society. Professor Pomeroy is always aware of the existence of social and economic differences, and rightly protests against the habit of lumping all women together without keeping these in mind.

Archaeological evidence seems to Professor Pomeroy to indicate that "sex roles that will be familiar to the modern reader were firmly established in the Dark Age in Athens". Women were closely associated with the rituals that concerned the dead, and the small material available indicates that they had less expectation of life than men, a conclusion not inconsistent with the demographic patterns found in later preindustrial societies. During the Archaic Age women in western Greece already enjoyed more privileges than women in the east, as the institutions of Sparta and of Gortyn in Crete—the Gortyn code was inscribed during the fifth century, but must largely reflect conditions that originated earlier—serve to indicate. The Spartans realized that the mothers of their future warriors were important to the state, and allowed their women to take physical exercise and to enjoy a modicum of freedom. The Ionian Greeks, who had orientals as near neighbours, treated their women not so very differently from orientals.

Pederasty, however, was commoner and aroused less disapproval in western than in eastern Greece. Did the comparative familiarity of the Spartan women breed some contempt? The Athenian democracy, of all Greek communities the most repressive towards women, was also the most intolerant of male homosexuality. Did the Athenian democrats guard their women closely because they prized them, at any rate as sex objects?

Professor Pomeroy gives, in her fourth chapter, an excellent account of the modern discussion of the treatment of women in fifth-century Athens; she does not quote Burckhardt, but her conclusions resemble his. While rejecting the extreme view that the life of an Athenian woman at this time was little better than that of a slave in a harem, she firmly resists the attempt of the late A. W. Gomme, in an article published fifty years ago, to show that "there is no reason to suppose that in the matter of the consequence and social freedom of women Athens was different from other Greek cities, or the classical from the Homeric age". Gomme relied too heavily on the assumption that the heroines of classic tragedy were modelled directly on contemporary women, and paid little attention to the evidence of the Attic orators.

Professor Pomeroy, [...] hand, starts by examin[...] and institutions concern[...] and showing how [...] treated as instruments f[...] vation of family prope[...] women often transmi[...] woman ever really [...] Pericles's law of 451-45[...] ding marriage with a f[...] laxed under the strain [...] the Peloponnesian W[...] enacted towards the end [...] century—shows how m[...] employed in the serv[...] closed corporation of [...] citizens. Citizen women [...] a proper education; m[...] married as early as [...] Pericles himself said th[...] reputable one was th[...] was least talked about. [...] of domestic life obtaine[...] orators, from comedy—[...] proper allowance for [...] of fantasy—and from th[...] of Plato fits with [...] Pomeroy's conclusion th[...] parison with archa[...] classical Athens forced [...] into obscurity.

The most independ[...] tended to be aristocrati[...] curbing of aristocratic p[...] the democracy entailed, [...] sor Pomeroy points out, [...] sion not only of these [...] women. In a charac[...] terse paragraph she su[...] after all other forms of [...] had been eliminated th[...] demos had to have other [...] which it could feel sup[...] picked on foreigners, [...] women for that purpose.

Professor Pomeroy ri[...] against overestimating th[...] tragedy as firsthand ev[...] the character of fi[...] women. Tragedies, of co[...] not written by or abou[...] men; if their characters [...] temporary life, it is the [...] elite which they reflect. [...] out that in several trage[...] as the plays of the *Oreste*[...] *Antigone*, the theme of [...] between male and female [...] that the question of wom[...] was in the air, just as th[...] *zusae* of Aristophanes [...] advanced theories about [...] tion of women very [...] afterwards put forward [...] must have been curren[...] the end of the fifth cen[...]

While having no tr[...] with those who hav[...] Euripides to be a femin[...] those who have thoug[...] misogynist, Professor [...] shows how much interest [...] about women and their [...] plays contain.

In the section "Utop[...] ture" Professor Pomer[...] remarks that Plato's c[...] marriage and the fa[...] shadows the ideas of rad[...] ists of later times. Pla[...] basic difference, other [...] biological, between the s[...] was prepared to allow [...] exercise and education an[...] some of them to the dom[...] of Guardians in his *Repu*[...] though he thought som[...] superior to some men, h[...] men on the whole su[...] women; and, in the *Le*[...] prescriptions of the *Law*[...] to reinforce the tradition[...] both sexes, so as to m[...] gentle and boys aggressiv[...] ists who are disposed t[...] Plato for his champio[...] women should note that in [...] a man who has offended a[...] parents may be whipped [...] he is under thirty, but tha[...] guilty of the same crime [...] whipped so long as she [...] forty.

Even from the earliest [...] women of the upper cl[...] been more independent [...] rest, and the tendency bec[...] evident than ever during t[...] istic age, when numero[...] royal dynasties came into [...] fifth-century Athenian s[...] Burckhardt, referring [...] *Symposium*, pointed out [...] made no contribution to [...] of social life; that could n[...] of a society that containe[...] its dominating figures m[...] princesses like Arsinoe Ph[...] or Cleopatra VII. At lo[...] levels also, epigraphic [...] attests the growing impo[...] women in public life. Som[...] were very rich, not only in [...] [...] but in ancient communi[...] [...] that of Sparta. In Egypt, [...] of the Hellenistic world [...] best informed about, Greek [...] still needed a guardian when [...] legal and financial matters, [...] rights were more exten[...] in fifth-century communi[...] it seems likely that in many [...] guardianship was a matter [...] Stoic and neo-Pythagorean [...] might take a conserva[...] of women's rights and [...] Epicurus and the Cynics [...] were indulgent, and in this [...] the tendency of the time. [...] Pomeroy is rightly [...] about using the evidence [...] Athenian New Comedy, with [...] fulfilment plots; but it cer[...] indicates that in late fourth[...] Athens, even when Demet[...] of Phalerum was curbing [...] extravagances, many citizens [...] respected their wives, [...] wives, especially rich [...] nagged their husbands. [...] the lower classes were [...] less emancipated; but [...] improved their position [...] the Hellenistic period.

[...] social changes of that age [...] with Roman elements, [...] Pomeroy remarks, to pro[...] emancipated but respected [...] women of the late [...] republic and the empire. [...] how the position of [...] women, at first circum[...] by the customs of a patriar[...] that placed them firmly [...] parental or marital control, [...] to old-fashioned restric[...] as late as the third cen[...] came in the end to be a [...] more enviable than it [...] in any Greek society. The [...] of an alternative form of [...] which left the wife a mem[...] her father's family instead [...] into that of her husband [...] female emancipation.

[...] social reforms of Augustus [...] the long run powerless [...] the movement of the times; [...] freedom that during the [...] story of the republic had [...] its extremest expression in [...] of noble ladies like Sem[...] the friend of Catiline, Ful[...] wife of Antony, or that [...] may or may not have [...] continued without a [...] the imperial period. [...] women were not only rich [...] educated; many had [...] influence in public life; as [...] examples come to hand that [...] Brutus's mother and [...] mistress, and the younger [...] during Tiberius's seclusion [...] the most socially impor[...] in Rome, do not find a [...] here. A good chapter on [...] of the lower classes [...] use of recent studies of [...] of slaves and freedmen. [...] chapter sketches the place [...] in the religion of the [...] as the state cults declined, [...] superstitions became more [...]

[...] brief epilogue Professor [...] remarks that all through [...] men seem to have been [...] than women; female [...] continued to be practised, and seems to have been commoner in Hellenistic than in classical times. Greece and Rome, she reminds us, were warrior societies, and what mattered above all else was victory in war.

Further, Greek society in the not too distant past had been based upon kinship groups regulated by taboos lineally descended from those of the primitive groups whose males hunted while their females prepared food. It is not surprising that Greek society was repressive towards women, or that even as late as the fourth century the patronizing attitude of Aristotle was more representative than the radical attitude of Plato. Yet Professor Pomeroy reminds us that the Greeks were the first people, so far as we know, among whom the subordinate role assigned to women was called in question. She has shown how the improved status of women of the Hellenistic age contributed to their further emancipation during the late Roman republic and the early empire. Throughout antiquity many women's lives must have been miserable, and this applies especially to the vast multitudes who lived in obscurity; yet the number that attained some degree of happiness seems to have increased in Roman times, partly through the deepening of the marital relationship and the decline of homosexual inclinations.

The conversion of Samuel Wilberforce

"Then did Aeneas recognize his mother's birds" AENEID VI

Hot, light, round-breasted,
Drawn from ancient days, cozenage of the lizard,
Your murmurings, rollings, cream on blue,
Your struttings, feather-rufflings, grain pickings,
All reanimate a dead instruction
Engraved deep and deeper in the brain.

Their eyes glitter, aloof pebbles,
Heat and dryness vex our anthropoid skin,
Their skitterings are sharp sudden
Their brood sketchy pterodactyls from the rock.
Acrid droppings, floating tiny feathers, perpetual soft thunder,
How other you are, how much nausea
You bring.

All the same
My cousins.

I hail you
I love you.
Plunge
plunge
into the deep blue the Euphrates of air.
Later
Descend upon the Oxford meadows, our Mesopotamia.

J. M. Cameron

Women athletes, 4th century AD, from a Sicilian mosaic: reproduced in Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves.

The taste of battle

By Simon Hornblower

YVON GARLAN :

War in the Ancient World
A Social History

200pp. Chatto and Windus. £3.25.

This is a fine, readable book, which comes at a good moment in the history of the subject. A kind of pincer movement has been executed in the recent study of Greek and Roman warfare: from one direction, our understanding of ancient artillery is advancing rapidly—there have even been successful demonstrations, on television, of working catapults, built according to ancient specifications. From another direction come the three general studies of Greek fortifications, all major works, that have been produced in the past four years. Of these three the most recent and most original, is Yvon Garlan's *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque*. M Garlan now gives us a "social history" of ancient war, which is one of the best things to spring up from all these dragon's teeth of scholarship.

To the Greeks, war was more than real: it was personal. Thucydides called it a "harsh teacher". And Philip of Macedon is said to have threatened the Olynthians with a fable about Hubris and her husband War, who dogs her heels. A year or two later Olynthus was razed to the ground. Professor Garlan's new book captures this urgency. What lifted his earlier study above the level of a technical treatise was his use of the literary sources to construct a theory about Greek attitudes to the defence of territory: what did it mean to a Greek to mount or withstand a siege? The same grip on subjective reality marks the present book, a contribution to Moses Finley's distinguished series "Ancient Culture and Society".

The book appeared in France three years ago, and certain changes have now been made, in what I suppose to be the interests of economy. The most regrettable of these are the virtual excision of the section on the author's speciality, siegecraft and fortifications; and the dropping of all the illustrations, and of all the numbered notes that ran continuously through the French edition. But costs being what they are, it is good that a book of this exceptional quality has been made accessible, in whatever form, to an English readership.

The first third of the book—a large proportion—is devoted to the legal aspects of ancient war. Professor Garlan rightly insists on the importance of those formal and ritual acts that accompanied ancient warfare and helped to make it bearable. Here, as elsewhere in the book, he profits by modern (especially French) functionalist insights into the character of ancient society. But, unlike some of his contemporaries, he does not forfeit chronological perspective by crowding his landscape with arbitrarily chosen anthropological facts. (An illustration is his short section on trophies, which is a model treatment.) He has a story to tell, and tells it.

The central section is called "the Military Societies"—a misleading title, suggesting an analysis of, e g, fourth-century BC Sparta or the Theban "Sacred Band". In fact, the chapter examines the general relationship of the warrior to the society from which he came, or in opposition to which he found himself. This chapter is excellent: Professor Garlan is clear and judicious when moving over familiar but controversial ground, like the significance of cavalry in early Roman history, or of the chariot warfare described in the Homeric poems; and sharp and interesting when he handles more peripheral topics, like the difference that war made to Greek and Roman slaves, or the Hellenizing role of mercenaries in the areas that Alexander conquered.

Finally, Professor Garlan considers army organization, which is taken to include both internal, structurally illuminating, arrangements like promotion and the chain of command; and external and contingent matters, like the supply of medical services and food. Scholars will appreciate his respect for the evidence, which leads him to quote, in translation, extended passages from ancient sources; the same feature will arrest the interest of the general reader, who can learn at first hand how a Hellenistic monarch coped with problems of bulk grain-storage, and read of the ludicrous system of corks and water-filled vessels which a tactical writer recommended as a way of giving greater precision to smoke-signals.

Professor Garlan uses his "Conclusion" to reflect rather than to summarize, and maintains his usual, and due, deference to the economic factor. Perhaps there is undue deference too: at one point he appears to argue himself into the position that, since a certain degree of prosperity is necessary before a community can embark on war, therefore we can date the advent of war, in Greece and Italy, by discovering the dates at which the two cultures reached the required economic level. This is startling news. Surely the premise is at fault: the criterion here implied for "being at war" is far too rigid; it is certainly out of keeping with the thoughtful evolutionism which is such a virtue of Professor Garlan's whole approach.

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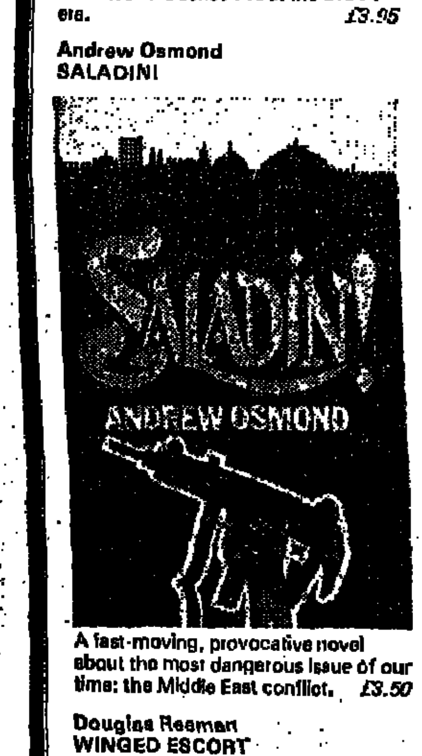

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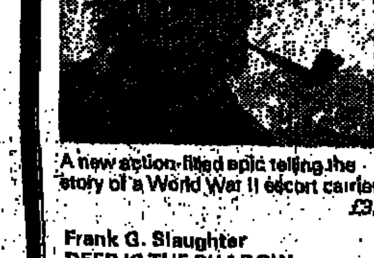
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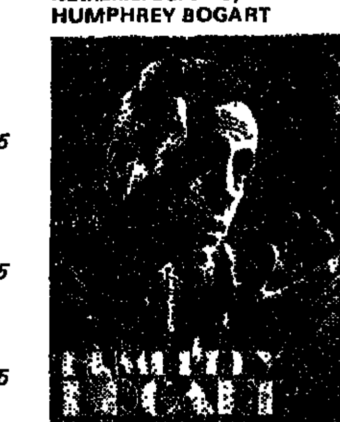

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The spirit of adventure

By Christopher Sykes

RALPH BARKER :
One Man's Jungle
A Biography of F. Spencer Chapman
373pp. Chatto and Windus. £7.

The subject of *One Man's Jungle* is the late F. Spencer Chapman, the explorer, mountaineer, writer and war-hero. In so far as he is widely known, it is as the author of possibly the best autobiographical book to emerge from the Second World War: *The Jungle is Neutral*, published in 1949.

That book, which brought its author a few years' fame, told in detail a story that the newspapers had made famous for some days, even for a few weeks, depending on the reader, in 1944. The facts of the case were incredible. The first part of the story went as follows: Chapman, a schoolmaster at Gordonstoun, who had made some reputation before the war as an Arctic explorer and a mountaineer, though only in specialist circles, and who had no army experience whatsoever, had joined a territorial battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders shortly before September 1939. Impressed by the breadth of his experience, which included Tibet, the War Office authorities, after usual and numerous changes of mind, appointed him to the Far East theatre, well before the British disaster there. Chapman claimed later to have recommended the right strategy, and that this had been dismissed as the vapourings of a young, raw, shallow know-all by the men in command, i.e. the traditionalists who lost Singapore for us. These men were naturally upset by Chapman's later assertions and have been explaining them away ever since.

The Singapore fiasco opened the way to the second part of the story which formed the main subject of Chapman's masterly book. After the humiliation and retreat of the British he remained behind in the jungles of Malaya with the purpose of carrying out sabotage and ambush operations in collaboration with Chinese Communist guerrillas. Had his mission lain in Japanese-conquered Burma he could probably have escaped to British territory on its accomplishment; from conquered Malaya this was absolutely impossible. As a result he spent three and a half years in the jungles of Malaya, hunted throughout by the Japanese, who captured him on one occasion, though he immediately escaped. The damage which he and his Chinese allies wrought on the Japanese military was exemplary. He did not spend his long, miserable exile leading the useless life of a fugitive, though, typical of his perpetual self-questioning, he entertained doubts on the subject and whether he deserved his abundantly merited DSO with bar.

He does not fit into any category of Second World War hero. His resemblance to Wingate, to the Commando and Airborne Corps leaders, and others who operated behind the lines, is accidental and superficial. Though he was a spirited critic of Allied strategy in the Far East, he was never, like Wingate, driven on by belief in any strategical theory. Though he deservedly gained much military glory, he was not deeply interested in military matters. His ultimate, and one

hopes not quenched, fame
as a soldier but as a writer
Inevitably, with the end
war, his fame as a soldier a
extension of his previous
able, but very limited—
explorer-author, grew dim,
of endurance and personal
in Malay, one perhaps un
by any other Englishman
war, became not only forgo
a subject of some
against him in the
mental climate of the
ages. This fate befell m
but in Chapman's case
the cause of embitterme
indifference to military ma
probably one reason. A
tain one was his over
occupation with finding
for his outstanding gifts
did not undervalue. Here
crushed head-on with his
ment.

This very detailed biogra
cates surely that his pre
was the rare and painful
eternal youth. He again fo
employment his gifts requ
teaching. Before the war,
had found a satisfying
house-mastering at Gordo
Kurt Hahn had provided a
inspiration. After the war he
the inspiration to two bea
ships, the first in a British
in Germany, the second in
Africa; later he took it to
ously successful experiment
national education for
children. Chapman was himse
tually parentless, his mother
died within weeks of his bi
runaway father early in the
World War. He was well
after in his childhood
guardians, but he lacked a
tic home.

On the credit side the re
that he developed a
pathy with the sense of
bewilderment which is the
youth; on the debit side, be
inner confidence, because he
never fully grew up. He
remarkably good schoolma
he lacked the resource to be
great one, a second Kurt
which was his ambition.

He was a fervent bel
Hahn's theory that the edu
youth should include
opportunity for adventure
regarded the conventional
sory games of the conventi
lic school as a dismally in
substitute. He had educ
self by embracing all op
for adventure and he stimu
schoolboys in his care to f
example. What he inevita
to recognize is that advent
way of life for youth alone
taxed his physical capacit
utmost and the infirmity of
to him early. In his last
was warden of Wantage
Reading University. He w
retire soon to an inactive an
life which he could not fa
out the stimulus of action h
future as a writer, and he w
out the strength that relig
gives men. On August 7,
committed suicide.

Ralph Barker has told t
of this gifted, flawed, co
man with insight. The fir
the book, which traces C
life from his birth in 1907
may strike readers as p
but from then on the st
on a pace and immediacy
its fine subject.

In assessing and describing the carrier fighters of the Second World War in *Carrier Fighters* (160pp. Macdonald and Janes. £2.95), David Brown was obliged to retell the story of all the major engagements in which aircraft carriers were involved. These provide him with a sound base from which to explain the differences between the three navies, United States, British and Japanese, that accounted for the swaying fortunes during the five years of war. For instance, the Japanese Zero fighter could outclimb, outpace and outmanoeuvre American and British fighters provided it was expertly handled, but in later stages when training yielded poorer pilots, its advantages were wasted. There were fighters in the other navies that ought to have been better. The Seafire (naval Spitfire) had such a weak undercarriage that more

losses occurred through lan
dents than from any oth
On the other hand, the Brit
a relative success of the
Corsair by modifying it
United States followed
Hellcat which took dread
the enemy. In the great air
the Marianas in 1944, Hell
down 250 of the 298 aircra
the Japanese lost. One
attack neither the United S
the British managed to cou
pite the benefit of radar co
ing and radio control of
units, was that of the suici
Perhaps the numbers dec
issue.

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rchaeology begins at home

ric Korn

ET DRABBLE :
of Gold
Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

ppen to be a woman, and
write about human beings
women), there's a good
you will be judged not
iter, but as a contributor
ondition of Women Ques-
the Victorians may have
It's odd and remarkable
g about women has come
idered a genre, like writ-
ghosts or cowboys, but
for this probably lie in
in of sociopathology, not
Perhaps it's because the
Revolution has produced
f literary Lenins and is
the need of its Turgenev,
not of the revolution but
man condition in revolu-
times. It may not be en-
argaret Drabble's fault that
s are sometimes treated as
s for that constituency.
relevant is one's reaction
ong-term deep strategy of
ssive writings. Whether
s from an unconscious par-
s wisdom or whether she
y-year plan on her study
novel is a tiny, measured
wards: a widening or
g of range, technique or
The reader may feel that
ence is not being ade-
arged and simultaneously

complain that he is being deprived of the accustomed flavour that the name on the wrapper seemed to promise. If there is a certain wry, cosy familiarity about her heroines' world, it is still the world where a great many readers live: in North London, in literature, in embarrassment.

"Satire won't do. Worldliness won't do. But until you can do them both you can't do anything." The remark, from her first novel, *A Summer Bird-Cage*, has been programmatic for its author. The clever girl just down from Oxbridge has grown through isolation, cut off by wit or unsophistication, by having children or not having them, by suffering borne stoically or not borne, by sensitivity or anaesthesia, by hope deferred or fulfilled. ("The enormity of my hope seemed to me the measure of the enormity of my failure and disappointment"—*The Garrick Year.*) And now she is grown up. Frances Wingate, narrator-in-chief of *Realms of Gold*, is an eminent archaeologist with a newly rediscovered culture—or at least a city and a trade route—to her credit; a successful performer on the international lecture circuit, loaded with children and renown; detached, matey, competent, invulnerable, she weeps over her liquor in strange hotel bedrooms and carries—fit fetish for her profession—her lost lover's false teeth about her neck.

Margaret Drabble has not lost her ear for the nuances of private and public unease, nor her sharp, sometimes fussy eye for the interiors of habitations and heads. The action is extended in space: Naples, East Anglia, a sub-Saharan republic; but the title is not without irony, for it is a book less about travel than about homecomings, returning where one starts from and knowing the place for the first time.

As she first did in *The Needle's Eye*, Margaret Drabble here uses a multiple narrative viewpoint; the burden of the story is shared by others, notably Janet Bird, who carries some of the familiar earmarks: the damp baby, the horrible husband, the anxiety about not having cake when visitors call—this last a motif so recurrent that it will undoubtedly elicit a thesis from the University of West Nevada, but perhaps merely a sign of an understandable reluctance to let go of the familiar. Karel Schmidt, the absent but returning lover, seems less autonomously conceived, existing only by virtue of Frances's understanding of him, acting only by virtue of her love. Curiously enough, the opaque figure of the self-contained, nomadic geologist, David Ollerenshaw, is more tangibly realized. (He has the fault of singing, as he drives through the desert, "as pants the *heart* for cooling streams", but this may be blamed on the proof-reading, for on the following page academics remark that "disciples overlapped more and more these days"—a striking piece of intellectual cross-fertilization, if true.)

The experiments in narrative technique go much further, however; timid explorations by many standards but a giant leap for Margaret Drabble. There's an old-fashioned and obtrusive narrator who flaunts her omniscience in a most distracting fashion: "There sat, though she did not know it, her distant cousin David Ollerenshaw. David did not know that he was her cousin. . . .". And again: "Remember him, reader, for it will be some months before he and Frances Wingate meet again!" She even gives the plot away, but I refuse to do so: it's a good plot and in no need of its author's deprecation. Worse still, the narrator seems to have designs on our response to the novel as text (or, no doubt, *texte*):

> Janet Ollerenshaw nee Bird was pushing her pram along Tockley High Street. The fact that she was doing this, as she was some 23 pages ago, does not indicate that no time has passed since that last brief encounter. Nor does it indicate a desire on the part of the narrator to impose an arbitrary order or significance upon events.

The immediate—and only—consequence of this was that I turned back twenty-three pages to see if she had got it right: as an essay in alienation it's a touch feeble. And who is this novelist who is not trying to impose significance on events? If not, why not?

At times a defiant defensiveness, a flaunting apologetic, seizes her:

> And that is enough, for the moment, of Janet Bird. More than enough, you might reasonably think, for her life is slow, even slower than its description, and her dinner party seemed to go on too long to her, as it did to you.

In fact it doesn't a bit, so what is she doing, fishing for compliments? More than once we are told that there is too much coincidence in the novel: but novels, like minds, like lives, work by coincidence, and you can't have too much of it; especially when one aspect of the plot is an upbeat revision of *Romeo and Juliet*, postal mishaps and all.

As the end approaches, Margaret Drabble becomes positively skittish: "So there you are. Invent a more suitable ending if you can." And further down the page, in a fit of slightly barmy benign insouciance:

"A happy ending, you may say. Resent it, if you like. She will not care; she is not listening." This posturing is perhaps prefigured by the carefully contrived alternation of I-as-participant and I-as-narrator in *The Waterfall*: but that succeeds, while here, when perhaps a more enterprising new departure is due, it reads like a gauche dissembling of character, as though Jane Austen had taken to stream of consciousness or Norman Mailer to alexandrines.

I have dwelt on this quirk which seems to me wantonly to mar a very good book. Frances Wingate, with her soft-centred stoicism, engaged my sympathies immediately: as much as anything because she cares about her work, and conveys her enthusiasm to the reader as she does to audiences—Tizouk, the excavation site, is as real a character as any. I was more acutely sympathetic when she got toothache, herald of a train of increasingly serious illnesses with which she fills in the waiting time—the bodily equivalent of a rite of passage.

From an absurd conference in Mali or Chad she is recalled to help with a bizarre but credible family crisis: a dotty reclusive relative has been found dead of starvation in her unfrequented cottage, and Frances's comfortably cushioned kin are being pilloried as unnatural monsters. Coping with this, Frances reacquaints herself with her childhood. When another death occurs—not this time the end of a dotage but a calamity against the order of nature—she is capable of feeling an appropriate grief and remorse. The mourning over, the rites completed, the lover returned, Frances can rediscover another private city. The archaeological metaphor, not overworked, is apt; for we all dig backwards through our own successive occupation levels. She ends—uncommonly for a Drabble heroine—surprised by joy; surprised too by Joy, her lover's discommoding wife who is partly removed by a late conversion to lesbianism. The book—perhaps because of those very whimsicalities I decried—is full of old-fashioned pleasures, not least an implicit moralizing that leaves one persuaded that on the whole it is wiser to be nice than nasty, even to oneself.

e tartan strait-jacket

ger Garfitt

N (Editor) :
Short Stories 1975
ins. £2.75.

est a test of a good short
it should create a pause.
a gourmand reads more
a time. It is all the more
the short story should
on those conservation
annual collections. The
still printing stories with
larity may soon be out-
by anthologies, yet the
enough commercial suc-
ake one question whether
demand for short stories
more than an untried
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third in the series, is
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strength of these stories
draw upon a range of
lived experience, often
character—witness the
words that glint from the
now made accessible to
audience. Patsy Thomson
onto the football terraces
day afternoon; James Kel-
a billiard hall that has
days; Robin Jenkins fol-
e small-town golfers over

their weekly eighteen holes; Lorn Macintyre sees a cirrhotic and penniless major through his last season's salmon fishing.

Douglas Dunn and Anne Turner re-create childhood memories, each in their own style but both owing something to the picaresque of Dylan Thomas. Among several stories that explore twists in relationships, the most original is Arthur Young's "A Time Spent Dying", in which a young doctor, drawn by the resilience of a dying miner, comes to regard him as a second father—and has to seal the bond by giving him an easeful death.

By contrast, the established writers seem remote and literary, George Mackay Brown giving us an Orcadian echo of the Dionysus myth, Naomi Mitchison conducting us through Botswana in colonial times. Robert Nye renders his barber's patter with skilful comic timing, but that's all. It is worrying, too, that young writers like Mr Macintyre and Mr Kelman should be writing retrospectively of a Scotland that has all but vanished. If there is to be a resurgent prose literature in Scotland, underlining the received notions of Scottishness will not bring it into being; they have to be redefined out of the experience of a changing society. One looks almost in vain here for the engaged and questioning sense of nationality found among the younger Irish writers. Consequently, the style is itself received: there is none of that sense of the language receiving the impress of an imagination that one experiences in the stories of John McGahern or Julia O'Faolain. Mr Kelman, Miss Thomson and Mr Young all sustain an idiom, but only Mr Dunn has the conviction of a concentrated style, of a narrative being shaped through language.

ar report

Foster

RTIN :
ker and Warburg. £3.10.

ly of the North of Ire-
ding its reflection in the
produced by the pro-
notably in poetry, to a
in fiction. David Mar-
about contemporary Bel-
a sense, saturated in its
, and the background
n Sean, the anti-hero,
his home after his
been killed by a sol-
makes contact with the
out the soldier's name,
him, and plans to kill
spirit, not of political
, but of revenge. He
communications with
and the life he had
prevailing fatalism and
him increasingly, but

there is little doubt that he will carry out his self-appointed task.

Mr Martin records at the same time the routine of the soldier and his companions on patrol. The narrative switches from apprentice killer to intended victim; and between Sean's account and the several streams of consciousness of the patrolling soldiers, the reader loses his grip on what is happening. Nor is the time-scheme of the novel entirely clear. More seriously, *The Task* fails to make its impact in the relation of the actors to their scene. Contemporary Belfast is drawn with terrible authenticity. But against it, the characters appear in two dimensions only. Novels have been written about what war does to people, and succeeded brilliantly; but here one feels that the war has been taken as the subject, the people and their story are secondary. The result does not convince as it should; we have read about an Ulster tragedy, but have not understood it. This is not all Mr Martin's fault; but is, I think, a good deal less than his intention.

Boozer take all

By William Feaver

FRANK NORMAN :
Down and Out in High Society
189pp. Hodder and Stoughton. £3.15.

On page eighty-two Frank Norman's hero Fred quotes the *TLS* review of his first novel. It was, of course, anonymous. But the wording ("Fred Blake's desire to get beyond monosyllables produces a mangled syntax which is all too comprehensible in terms of ambition") leads him to suppose that Samford Peverill, "an underhanded creep", was responsible. Who is this Peverill? We can guess who Fred is, Mr Norman being a master of translucent disguise, and most of the other names and pubs fall into place easily enough, given the circumstances. But Mr Peverill, who has a "sly expression" and whose lips curl into "ugly" smiles, is more difficult to pin down. He could be any one of a hundred.

The novel ends with Fred making a firm resolve:

> "Course I do!" I cried. "And when we get back I shall have one last try at being a real writer."

Real writing comes hard, that's the trouble. It interferes with the daily round of opening time, fund-raising, closing time, extension hours, hangover and so on. It demands both attention to detail and the ability to step back and choose adjectives with care. Frank, as distinct from Fred, can do a few turns to perfection: the "gilded gutter" society, all smear and titter, and the darkest Soho scene, all cadge and mutter. It's hardly a novel, more a racy commentary. But enjoyable—most of all when the monosyllables flow and the syntax goes to pot.

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Hamish Hamilton

Crime Quiz:

What famous sleuths, crooks or their creators do you associate with:

1 Quai des Orfèvres
2 Sunset Boulevard
3 87th Precinct
4 Yellowthread Street (Hongkong)
5 Indianapolis
6 The Albany

answers:

1 Maigret - SIMENON
2 Marlowe - CHANDLER
3 ED McBAIN
4 Phil Auden - WILLIAM MARSHALL
5 Albert Samson - MICHAEL Z. LEWIN
6 Raffles - HORNUNG

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REX STOUT
EDGAR LUSTGARTEN
and many others

Hamish Hamilton

Animated algebra

By Francis Wyndham

AGATHA CHRISTIE:
Curtain
221pp. Collins. £2.95.

Hercule Poirot and his "Watson", Captain Arthur Hastings, made their joint debut fifty-five years ago in Agatha Christie's first novel, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*. Written during the 1914-18 war, the book had been rejected by many publishers before John Lane accepted it. It had a modest success, selling 2,000 copies and making £25 for its author. The classic detective story, of which she was to become perhaps the greatest practitioner, was already well established and she added nothing new to the genre, except a further degree of ingenuity. This, however, was more than enough; without ingenuity a detective story is nothing, no matter what other qualities it may possess, and it is difficult to imagine a detective story being too ingenious for its own good. Anyone reading *Styles* today would almost certainly fail to guess the solution before the writer is ready to reveal it. The plot hinges on the device of the double bluff—which has since been so often redoubled that, as in a nightmare game of backgammon, results of almost astronomical complexity have been reached.

The Christie addict welcomes each new book as a personal challenge to a game which he hopes to lose, for the gratification of winning it must be tinged with disappointment. As the excitement of reading her novels depends on the knowledge that every character *may* be a murderer, and as the reassuring pleasure she provides is drawn from an artificial alternative to any experience possible in real life, both psychological analysis and social observation must remain shallow. Her raw material may consist entirely of platitudes, but the cerebral patterns which she forms from them are nonetheless to some degree creative. Edmund Wilson missed this point completely when he wrote an essay called "Who Cares Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?" Of course nobody is expected to care in any humanist sense: it is, quite simply, that one has to know. Agatha Christie at her best writes animated algebra. She dares us to solve a basic equation buried beneath a proliferation of irrelevancies. By the last page, everything should have been eliminated except for the motive and identity of the murderer; the elaborate working-out, apparently too complicated to grasp, is suddenly reduced to satisfactory simplicity. The effect is one of comfortable catharsis.

During the Second World War, just after finishing *The Body in the Library*, Agatha Christie wrote two novels which she intended to reserve for publication after her death. They described the last cases of her two most famous detectives, Poirot and Miss Marple [illegible] has generously decided [illegible] at least one of them [illegible] still alive. *Curtain* [illegible] belongs to the period [illegible] power to puzzle was at [illegible] able height.

Skilfully anticipating [illegible] she sets the scene in the [illegible] house where it all began [illegible] Hastings, a grizzled wido[wer] from the Argentine to jo[in] Poirot at Styles, which [illegible] turned into a guest-ho[use] [illegible] Hastings finds himself [illegible] wildered father of a [illegible] daughter (it is several [illegible] plained that Judith takes [illegible] late mother, Cinders) wh[o is] staying at Styles. Poirot [illegible] confides to Hastings the [illegible] his presence there: he be[lieves] one member of the hous[ehold has] been responsible for mul[tiple mur]ders and has hitherto evad[ed detection,] but he refuses to identify [the per]son, although of course [illegible] who it is. The problem [illegible] is to discover the victim.

There follow what appe[ar to be] an attempted murder, a [illegible] a suicide, although none [illegible] what it seems. More tha[n this no] fair-minded reviewer co[uld allow] himself to say—except that [the solu]tion, when it is finally spr[ung, turns] out to be as outrageously [illegible] as those of *The Murder [of Roger] Ackroyd*, *Ten Little Indians*, *[Murder] on the Orient Express* and [illegible] *House*. As she presumably [illegible] in this one Agatha Chr[istie has] brought off the bluff to [illegible] all.

Parquet-procedural

By Rayner Heppenstall

NICOLAS FREELING:
What are the Bugles Blowing for?
214pp. Heinemann. £3.50.

Nicolas Freeling's new novel takes place in a provincial French city and, by way of prologue and epilogue, in the private office of the President of the Republic at the Elysée. It is not a whodunit. A rich and well-connected economist finds his wife and one of his daughters both naked in bed with an artist who was painting the former's portrait. With some deliberation, he takes her pistol from a drawer, loads it and shoots all three dead, then telephones the police. A nice and conscientious detective-inspector goes round, sends for the technicians, informs *le parquet* and takes the economist into custody. The latter makes no attempt to excuse his action. The machinery of the law grinds. To everybody's surprise, the jury's verdict allows the presiding judge no alternative but to pass sentence of death. The only element of suspense lies in our uncertainty whether the President of the Republic will sign a reprieve.

It is customary and praiseworthy in reviews of crime fiction not to give away the final solution, and here I fancy I oughtn't to dispel that small element of suspense by saying whether the President signs a reprieve or not, though I don't think Mr Freeling would mind if I did. His concern is with the machinery of the law as it operates in France and with the reactions of those involved with it in a case no doubt chosen for its abnormal straightforwardness.

The set-piece is the public hearing, though we have earlier considered the thoughts and feelings of policemen, lawyers, psychiatrists, the defendant's other daughter, the artist's widow, the detective-inspector's wife, Jews, Arabs (the artist having been Jewish), anarchists, a small detachment from Rentacrowd, even British policemen, for, the defendant's other daughter having skipped, the detective-inspector is sent to London.

Much of this is pretty well done. Mr Freeling has clearly made some study of that little red book, the French code of criminal procedure. Not perhaps enough. He is shaky on the meanings of *procès-verbal* and *supplément d'information* and cannot, I feel, have consulted a companion little red book to discover the scope of the French criminal offence of failure to go to the assistance of a person in danger. Nor does he properly distinguish between the *procureur-général* of a département, a *procureur de la République* and the *procureur* of popular and literary usage whose civil service grade is often that of *avocat-général*; while he ought not to speak of the Code Napoléon except when he means the civil code, set forth in yet another little red book.

Sometimes his difficulties have been simply those of translation, as with *inculpé*, *prévenu* and *accusé*. These are real difficulties and perhaps insuperable. I imagine that Mr Freeling thought it amusing to translate *effacé* as "effaced" and *passage à tabac* as "tobacco road", though I don't suppose many readers will see the joke, while of course "assassinate" has its own special meaning in English (and no other language). All the same, from Mr Freeling's account his readers will form a better idea of French criminal procedure than they might from some other writings in English or from English translations of, for instance, Simenon.

Mr Freeling is a crime writer who often evinces signs of wishing to be thought more than that. His theme in this novel is a large one—too large, I felt. Whether [illegible] he writes whodunits, po[lice procedurals] or courtroom dr[amas, we] shall enjoy him, when we [illegible] enjoy other crime writ[ers, at a] fairly superficial level, [illegible] stories, the characters [illegible] detailed authenticity of [their set]tings, not for his message [illegible] prose style, the tone of [illegible] often spoilt by a blend [of self-]importance, knowingness [and inter]mittent writing for quick [illegible] These make us more [illegible] the author than we ought [illegible] crime fiction, and perha[ps in any] other kind except really [illegible] edly autobiographical pic[illegible] quite see that it may [illegible] their presence which at [illegible] of his career persuaded [illegible] Mr Freeling we had a [illegible] though it was also the [illegible] his Amsterdam setting.

His present inspector, [illegible] nice, but not yet an ad[equate re]placement for Van der V[alk, whose] wife, a crippled Czech [illegible] pretends to be stupider [illegible] a fraction on the [illegible] side. The book's title, by [illegible] from Kipling's Barrack-Ro[om Ballad] on the hanging of Dan[illegible]

Agents as patients

By David Wilson

JOSEPH HONE:
The Sixth Directorate
337pp. Secker and Warburg. £3.50.

Identity problems must be endemic in the spying business: living with a divided self is, after all, a necessary condition of employment. (Double agents, presumably, have four lives.) Philby evidently had no problems: the cause sustains, perhaps. The spies of fiction, on the other hand, are often deeply troubled, but the split personality question, when it is raised at all, is usually no more than a distant doubt. Not so, however, in *The Sixth Directorate*, Joseph Hone's second novel, and, like his first (*The Private Sector*), not simply a spy novel—though it is that, and a good one—but also an intriguing reflection on the psychology of spying.

Peter Marlow is called upon to impersonate a British KGB agent recently caught napping. The British think they have stumbled on a new KGB branch. What they don't know (or do they?), and what Marlow eventually discovers when he becomes George Graham, United Nations information officer, is that the new network [illegible] a group of Soviet dissid[ents].

Marlow enters a Byzan[tine world] of deception, of self as [well as of] others: people are not [what they] seem, nor what they [illegible] even what they think they [are. Mar]low gets involved, unpro[illegible] with the mistress of the [illegible] supposed to be; she her[self is mar]ried to a British agent [illegible] works for the CIA. [illegible] deftly indicated, is that [illegible] knows Marlow's game [illegible] comes to know hers but [illegible] them knows enough. Ma[illegible] painfully, that if you pr[illegible] someone else you wear [illegible] instead of one, neither [illegible]

The narrative has an[illegible] twists and turns, and [illegible] never transgresses the ru[les of the] game, in a story hardly [illegible] incident and character [illegible] still pause to reflect [illegible] landscape of a city [illegible] emotional hazards of an [illegible] pressure. Both the conc[illegible] the writing are good [illegible] ensure that these refl[ective pas]sages are not simply [illegible] the narrative but inte[gral to its] development. It is [illegible] fashionable, and not [illegible] to subvert the conventi[ons of the] genre; to work within [illegible] still get beyond their [limits is] something else again.

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Pelham Books

Criminal proceedings

By P. D. James

[illegible]:
[illegible] of Disappearance
[illegible] £2.90.

[illegible]'s first novel has pace, [illegible] wit. Failure is almost [illegible] for the contemporary [illegible], except, of course, in [illegible] even there sex is [illegible] of angst than of [Cha]rles Paris is a divorced [illegible] actor, only intermit[illegible] or in work, who, more [illegible] from lust, gets him[self involv]ed in helping a pregnant [illegible] Jaqui.

[illegible] Marius Steen, a [illegible], has brutally and [illegible] thrown her over and [m]ysteriously died, leaving [illegible] share of his fortune. So [illegible] Marius Steen, and is his [illegible] with the fatal shoot[illegible] Sweet, a blackmailing [illegible] with photographs to [illegible] one of Jaqui and [illegible] skill at disguise and [illegible] him in his detection [illegible] very funnily. He [illegible] hero whose painful [illegible] decency are endearing [illegible] extend little further [illegible] exploiting his ex-wife [illegible] strict necessity enjoins [illegible] under-age virgins) and [illegible] characters are far [illegible]. London in the [illegible] the three-day week is [illegible]. Actors *manqués* who [illegible] that theatrical Lon[illegible] slum peopled with [ny]mphomaniacs, lecherous [illegible] queers and failed [illegible] from bar to bar [illegible] fantasies gratified.

[illegible]:
[illegible] Woodstock
[illegible] £2.25.

[illegible]'s novel, competently [illegible] more than competently [illegible] (as one might expect [illegible] crossword cham[pion illegible] in the Oxford, not of [illegible] high table, but of [illegible], of neat suburban [illegible] failure and un[illegible] of typists, artisans, and [illegible] pornography. Two girls [illegible] together for the lust [illegible] Woodstock, and one of them [illegible] that night her body [illegible] huddled in the [illegible] of a Wood[stock illegible] and Detective Chief [illegible] Morse and Sergeant Lewis [illegible] Valley Constabulary [illegible] a rapist and a murderer. [illegible] writer who chooses [illegible] detective a member of [illegible] is necessarily more [illegible] treating individuality [illegible] prefers the less regu[lar illegible] amateur. Colin Dexter [illegible] problem by making Morse [illegible] unpredictable, suscept[ible illegible] and introvert. No [illegible] grow on us. It is good [illegible] a new and talented [illegible] of the orthodox detec[tive illegible] honestly constructed, set [illegible] time and place, dealing [illegible] with the pains as well [illegible] of its charac[ters illegible] clued, and with a [illegible].

[ER]SKINE LINDOP:
[illegible] Saint
[illegible] £3.50.

[illegible] mystery, a prolifera[tion illegible] an atmosphere of con[illegible], and at least one [illegible] natural death are the [ingre]dients of a crime novel, [illegible] *Saint*, undeni[illegible] for the genre. The [illegible] to believe its central [illegible], to know whether [illegible] to believe it. The [illegible] with Jock Quale, a dul[l illegible] lawyer, being sum[moned to] the Isle of Wight house [illegible] Tim Wright, to pro[illegible] divorce from his beau[tiful illegible] apparently nyphomaniac [illegible] woman, whose kiss of [illegible] is lethal as a mamba's [illegible] murdered anyone on [illegible] just caused their [illegible] sheer goodwill.

Quale and his wife Sylvia feel that they have been carefully prevented from meeting the mysterious Patti and Sylvia becomes convinced that the girl is, in fact, Anne-Marie, a repulsively unattractive and neurotic schoolgirl whom she had once, as a schoolteacher, taken under her wing.

This then is the mystery. Has the despised and unlikable ugly duckling been metamorphozed into the beautiful and desirable swan, and, if so, why does Patti deny it and what exactly is her game? To accept that the two girls are the same person we must believe that the modern miracle of plastic surgery can obliterate the half-conscious gestures, the nuances of physical life, the subtle aura of personality. We are also asked to believe that people are pronounced insane and parked in mental hospitals (and are apparently content to stay there) on what seems for today singularly inadequate clinical evidence. These are the central implausibilities in a book rife with them. But, swept on by the book's humour — it is at times very funny—and by Miss Lindop's self-confidence and virtuosity in handling her preposterous plot, the suspension of disbelief is relatively painless.

SARA GEORGE:
Acid Drop
155pp. Macmillan. £2.50.

Sara George makes an impressive debut with this chilling contemporary fable. The theme is the betrayal, if not of innocence, of trust and affection. Astra, the twenty-two-year-old heroine, very much a child of her time, is adrift in Athens—taking pot luck, one might say—when she is asked by a stranger to smuggle back to London for analysis a small canister which he claims contains bad LSD manufactured (how did you guess?) by the CIA or its allies to keep young revolutionaries docile. Sara George understands the first canon of thriller writing, that we must care for a character before we can care what happens to her, and Astra, who might so easily have been a mouthpiece for the mental shibboleths which pass for contemporary idealism, is both believable and likable. Her hazardous journey across Europe without passport or money is the best part of the book, particularly the description of a night walk through the changing smells of an alien countryside. Belief falters a little when she finally reaches England to face fresh horrors and endure the torture scene now almost obligatory in this kind of fiction.

CHRISTOPHER HILL:
Jackdaw
221pp. Collins. £2.75.

Christopher Hill's first novel, *Scorpion*, was highly praised and his second, an ingenious concoction of menace, madness and murder, is unlikely to disappoint readers whose primary demand is for readability and thrills. The story opens in 1927 when Angèle Thibaud is sent away from home to take a post as companion to the mad ex-Empress Carlotta of Mexico. The Empress becomes devoted to the girl and it is rumoured in the castle that she has given her part of the fabled Aztec treasure. Forty-eight years later, a writer is persuaded by his wife to retreat to a French village in the hope that solitude, and, presumably, the foreign air, will stimulate his failing talent. He rents an old house, the scene a few years earlier of the murder of its elderly owner, the sister of Angèle Thibaud. Was Angèle in fact given the Empress's jewels, and if so are they linked with her sister's murder and now with the attacks made on the writer's life? Mr Hill's forte is plot not style, although the life of the French village is pleasingly evoked. The final murder makes one suspect that the killer is concerned less to dispose safely of his victim than to provide a saleable film scenario in the event of his discovery and acquittal.

BROWN MEGGS:
Saturday Games
185pp. Collins. £2.75.

Four men, three white and one coloured, are playing their customary Saturday morning tennis doubles in Pasadena. All have failed marriages, and all now realize that their careers are at risk. Their weekly game is more than recreation: it is an outlet for aggression, for frustration, for unconscious mutual resentment. This Saturday three of them find it difficult to concentrate, remembering a very private swimming party the night before at which they entertained the fourth player's sexually voracious wife. As they play, her nude and battered body is discovered in one of Pasadena's most exclusive districts. The appearance of the police finally interrupts the game. Brown Meggs's detective is Sergeant Anson Frères.

In the intervals between bedding his mistress and cooking soufflé aux épinards and noisette de porc aux pruneaux for her luncheon (this must be the first detective novel which makes acknowledgments to two cookery books), he investigates this unpleasant act of socially sensitive violence. The sexual descriptions are brutally explicit; the solution is guaranteed to surprise, but is perfectly fair—we are given three fairly clear pointers. But this is an exercise in moral indignation not in deduction, powerfully evoking the spiritual squalor of a community as lushly rotten as an overripe Californian peach.

BERTON ROUECHE:
The Cats
137pp. Gollancz. £2.50.

Sufferers from cat phobia should be warned that this is a very nasty little fable indeed—and it is likely to be equally shocking to cat lovers. A New York couple, coming back to the city after a holiday in Amagansett, Long Island, dump a casually acquired and now unwanted kitten in what they persuade themselves will prove a cat lover's garden. There is nothing unusual in this, but the couple face a terrible vengeance. When they return to their country retreat, they find that the cats have become a rapacious pack of carnivorous killers from whose lacerating claws and deadly teeth nothing living is safe. The novel invites comparison with Daphne du Maurier's *The Birds*, and it is perhaps more terrifying because more believable.

MAJ SJOWALL and PER WAHLOO:
Cop Killer
296pp. Gollancz. £3.

Cop Killer is the story of two men, both innocent, hunted by the Swedish police for murder; two totally disparate cases which prove in the end to be crucially linked. Martin Beck, the unorthodox chief of the National Homicide Squad, is sent from Stockholm to Anderslov, a small township on the southern tip of Sweden, to investigate the disappearance of a woman. Intriguingly, her neighbour is Folke Bengtsson, the sex murderer of Sjöwall and Wahlöö's first novel, *Roseanna*. There is some circumstantial evidence linking him with the woman's disappearance, and when her body is found public opinion forces the local police to make an arrest. Beck, convinced of Bengtsson's innocence, remains to pursue his inquiries. Meanwhile, two young thieves are surprised by the police, a policeman dies, one of the thieves escapes, and a national manhunt is organized.

The book's title is deliberately ambiguous; the cops are the killers as well as the killed. Beck considers with a sardonic and dispassionate eye the malaise of the contemporary welfare state, the delinquencies of its pampered and rootless young and the resentment of their elders. He is as always very believable: this, we feel, is what it must mean to be an honest and intelligent policeman in modern Sweden; or anywhere else.

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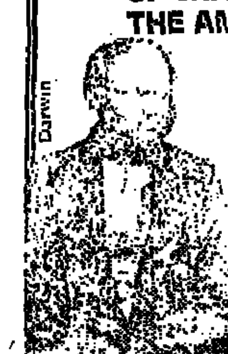

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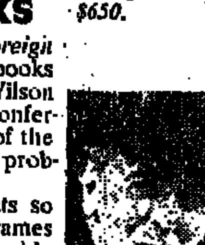

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Exalted mundanities

By John Fuller

CHARLES CAUSLEY :
Collected Poems
1951-1975
289pp. Macmillan. £4.25.

For most of his career, Charles Causley has dealt boldly with that most tricky of inherited forms, the ballad. Its attraction is understandable, since it is associated with so much that in any case appeals to him: drama and colour; the preservation of local traditions and oddities of custom and speech; the accommodation of the Christian story to a timeless literary or mythical landscape or to the quaint byways of history; simple violence and simple compassion.

A poet launching his career in the late 1940s might be forgiven in these circumstances for sounding like Thomas or Treece, or (in the case of the poems which recapture his experience as a naval rating in the Mediterranean or in Ceylon) for producing the usual travelogue. Indeed, the early poems sometimes begin predictably: "O spring has set off her green fuses"; "Under the willow the willow"; "I met her by the Rifle Range"; "Now that my seagoing self-possession wavers" (Thomas, Auden, Betjeman, Eliot—all the authoritative voices). But Mr Causley proceeds with great assurance, and it is never long before his own particular sense of the lurid, the magnificent or the absurd is effortlessly brought into play.

For instance, the first stanza of "Song of the Dying Gunner AA1" is high-pitched and somewhat derivative in manner, though packed with sensuous implications that make the reader retreat in horror from his understanding of them. The lines may be dangerously musical, but the reality is in view:

Oh mother my mouth is full of stars
As cartridges in the tray
My blood is a twin-branched scarlet tree
And it runs all runs away.

Mr Causley ballasts the rest of this short poem with all the pathetic details of the sailor's small comforts and childish argot. The strategy seems absolutely right, and touchingly supplies a more human elevation in the memorable final stanza:

Farewell, Aggie Weston, the Barracks at Guz,
Hang my tiddley suit on the door
I'm sewn up neat in a canvas sheet
And I shan't be home no more.

Much of Mr Causley's later work contrives a similar conflation of the exalted and the mundane. In the increasingly religious flavour of the poems, this sometimes issues in a Christian sentimentalism that is not much to my taste. The poet is a holy fool; tinkers and outcasts are unfallen innocents; the Apostles are Cornish fishermen; and we are on familiar terms with such Merrie England stage-props as Jack O'Lent, gallows-trees, the Galilee man, dancing bears and Captain Jesus. It is a world where three gypsies become the Magi, and even a November guy has its side slit by the speared sky. It is a world too habitually "terrible" or "wicked", a world at the edge of apocalypse. When this scenario is fleshed out with close observation of the mundane or vulgar (as it is, for instance, in "Demolition Order" or in "Timothy Winters", with its *Beano*-like descriptions) then the tenderness, the wish to redeem a bleak world, is movingly achieved and we really feel the myth of the underprivileged being saintly. There are a number of poems of experience and memory, particularly about childhood, at the heart of the collection, which quietly validate Mr Causley's fancy elsewhere; his metaphorical bravura firmly in control:

You stood there: the same crackling dress
And that antique, huge-buttoned coat,
Brooch clear as coal pinned at your throat,
The lively hair caught in a bun,
Your face pecked by ...
The voice as cool as ...

The predominant ... lection remains, ... the rapt storyteller. ... that some of the ... narrative poems were ... children ("St Martha ... gon" seems rather ... not here distinguished ... enough. There is no ... line in Mr Causley's ... his adult and juvenile ... irony of a Plomer, ... Durrell is unknown ... are back in a world ... picture-book history, ... dotes, explanation of ... hauntings, betrayals. ... of Nelson's body popping ... its cask of brandy could ... written by Masefield (... intended) while some of ... charms and love lyrics ... authentically Gravesian ... Mareish nursery air. ... emphasis is still observable ... insistently Cornish setting ... it in the end: every oth... a sailor.

There are, it should ... twenty-three new poems ... of the collection, on th... vintage cross-section of Mr ... range and capability. A ... his "Ten Types of Hos... tor", with its angular, ... usually free verse, does ... point up by its rarity the ... smoothness of the ballade... where (among many d... sense of easy choice of ... often too evident, onward ... being the prime concern. ... ley's epithets can be ... grotesque, idiomatic, bu... quickly learn to reco... palette, I think it is all ... that he has stuck for so ... so successfully to his ... may be that the quieter ... elegiac note of some o... poems represents a chang... tion for the future. But, ... develops, this book stand... bute to his attention to a... function of verse: the ... enchant.

Uncle to Amleth

By Ruth Padel

JOHN WAIN :
Feng
56pp. Macmillan. £2.25.

Hamlet brings out the best, apparently, in English writers. John Wain eludes the direct speculation on the play contained, most recently, in *The Black Prince* or *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*, by retiring to a pre-Shakespearian version of the story. Horwendil, father of Amleth, kills the king of Norway in single combat. Feng his brother poisons him and marries Gerutha his queen. Amleth assumes madness out of which Feng tries but fails to trick him by means of a beautiful woman. The prince voyages to England, returns to kill Feng, and settles down to an active reign. Before he can be trapped the beautiful woman warns Amleth she is sent to penetrate his disguise of madness: Feng happened to choose a childhood friend of the young prince. Though Mr Wain interprets this story in his own way in *Feng* he is as centrally concerned with Shakespeare as were Iris Murdoch and Tom Stoppard:

I saw a man reading a book:
a man with a tall round forehead and a small beard....
I found myself inside the man's mind.
It was like a great staircase,
From the stairway I saw many rooms.
In some, statesmen were bartering whole nations.
In some, the light had a smoky radiance:
lovers moved among tapestried scenes of love....
In every room I glimpsed, I could have spent my life.

Mr Wain's main reinterpretation is the love of Feng for the Ophelia-figure, never named—an interpretation of Shakespeare that might please a producer's, though not a critic's, eye:

I love the dark girl who loves Amleth. She is
not for me, although I am the king ...
She loves the son of Horwendil, and her blood
knows of the murder, though her brain may not.
Her skin crawls when I go near her. The cells
of her body hate me for Amleth's sake.

And he makes this act of interpretation a pivot of the plot as Feng waits for the sword of Amleth in triumph, having just raped the girl in the forest.

The main theme of the poem, explained in the author's prefatory note, is the sickness of the power-mad ruler. Mr Wain rearranges Shakespeare's balance of real and assumed madness to make the feigned madness of Amleth precipitate madness in Feng, not Ophelia. His treatment illustrates our own odd ways with myth: identification with the figure most opposed to the natural focus of identification, illustrated in John Gardner's *Grendel*, that monster's-eye view of *Beowulf*. Feng speaks in his own voice throughout; mostly in straightforward, randomly rhymed verse, but sometimes in prose, sometimes in mock-heroic rhymes, and during the murder of Horwendil, his first step to madness, in schizophrenic visual play:

he tells the sky he sees the phial
the sky is not an ear
safe, safe
the sky is not an ear
an ear
AN EAR.

The atmosphere of the whole poem is dominated by nature and by Feng's meditations on the Beowulfian ethics of his society. He sees his dead brother as an animal:

an heroic hog
whose blood ran into a bucket. He blundered
from combat to comb...
admired by adherents ...

He murdered this broth... "by favour of beasthood ... He identifies with mo... indigenous fauna, espec... whom he anthrop... throughout. They ... friends", whose quarrels ... in fear.

His confusion betwee... beast reaches its focus o... at the end; after the r... girl he envisages Amlet... in fear before killing hi...

he will be startled at my ...
my rough coat, and my ...
In winter, his children wi... bark from the trees!

One catches again a Sha... echo, combining Hamlet... of hesitation with his ... line at Claudius's exit ... players:

Why, let the stricken dee...

Feng perceives his ow... in animal terms. The ... Horwendil, for instance ... moment in which he fac... compulsion as a hare ... eagle:

When the wings came
became the murderer
of my brother
the wings know nothing ...
fied relationships,
father, bedmate, bro...
no tie of blood knitted t...
intricate veins, they know
lust to lay open what hid...
closed veins.

This mode of imagery ... reflects the straightforwa... cise observation of the ... civilized world that Feng ... forest and frozen lake, ... coast, all carefully ... cool.

Feng is pleasant to read ... sad, sinister and thoughtfu...

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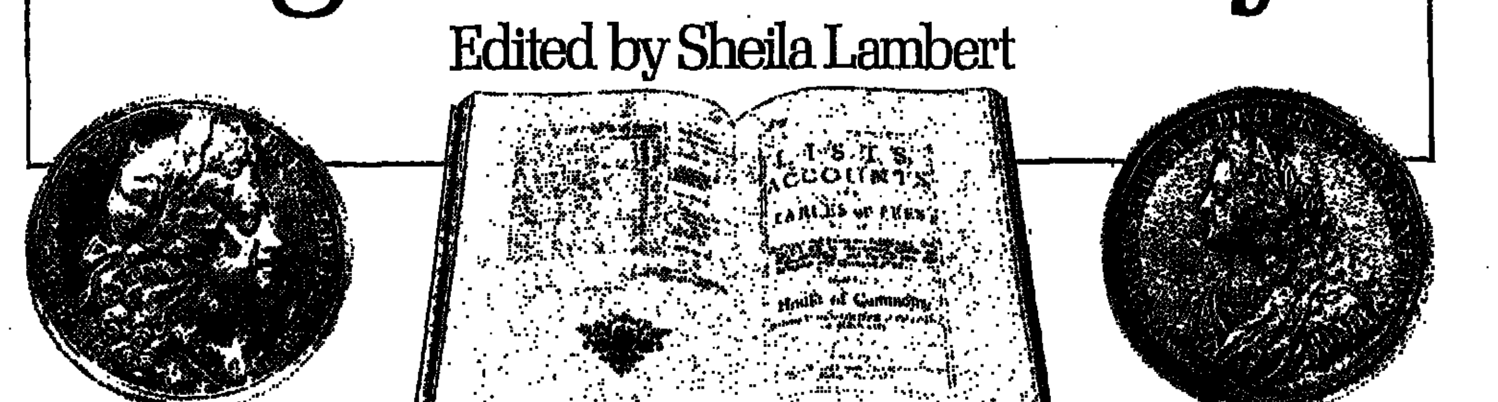
Edited by Sheila Lambert



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Models of authority

By J. G. A. Pocock

GORDON J. SCHOCHET:
Patriarchalism in Political Thought
291pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £5.

Despite some possible implications of its title, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought* is mainly a study of a historical phenomenon in the thought of seventeenth-century England. Gordon J. Schochet sets out to dispel the myth that "patriarchalism" can be thought of chiefly in association with the writings of Sir Robert Filmer and the historical episodes attending their composition, between 1639 and 1653, and their republication between 1679 and 1685. If the result of his analysis is to leave us wondering whether "patriarchalism" ever operated, or had a history, as a whole, this would seem to be well in accord with his intentions. It emerges that we are really talking about two doctrines, often associated but not necessarily linked: first, the doctrine that "natural" or primeval human society took the form of authoritarian families under paternal rule; secondly, the doctrine that the political authority of king or magistrate was derived from that of the family head in such a way that it could not lose the original's natural and authoritarian character. The political theorist and the historian of political thought are clearly interested mainly in the latter, and in the for[illegible] lectually associated with it; to be reminded of what Peter Laslett told us in his 1949 edition of Filmer's political writings, namely that the patriarchal family was a social reality in seventeenth-century England, tells us little about the two doctrines or the rise and fall of their association. The strategy of debate among polemicists appears to account for more in the history of "patriarchalism" than does the perception of social structure.

The crucial piece in the puzzle is, of course, the attempt to identify political authority as patriarchal. Though Professor Schochet rightly stresses the role of the Church of England catechism as an ideological engine operating to get this identification accepted as an uncriticizable given, his story takes place at the level of debate, treatise and pamphlet, at which the doctrine was challenged and seen to have alternatives. It is here that he and we encounter our chief problems in clarification. Patriarchalism proper was an attempt to represent unshared authority as natural, even if this meant representing it as prepolitical; it encountered, or was presumed to encounter, a contrary doctrine which asserted a prepolitical and natural state in which authority either did not yet exist, or was reposed in individuals who had yet to confer it upon monarchs or magistrates. It helped considerably if the individuals of this latter vision could be defined as patriarchs and fathers of families themselves, but acute difficulties remained for both parties to the debate. If Filmer was especially skilled and trenchant at explaining that there was no plausible way out of a state of nature into a stable authority structure of any kind, his opponents were able to demonstrate that he had not succeeded—and did not really think he had succeeded—in showing how one patriarch could acquire and transmit authority over all other patriarchs. Old Testament history—on which Filmer used to be thought exceptionally reliant—made as many difficulties for him as it offered aids, and his opponents accepted it as fully as he did.

The curious thing here is that we are compelled to acknowledge the singular weakness, among seventeenth-century Englishmen with their Aristotelian training, of the Aristotelian doctrine that men were by nature political animals. Only a minority of republicans of the stamp of James Harrington asserted that men naturally entered into the relationships characteristic of the polis, the relationship between aristocracy and democracy which furnished the body politic with its soul; and Harrington was obliged to argue, in a late pamphlet, that the descendants of Shem at least, if not his brothers, had maintained before Abraham a structure of courts anticipating the Jethronian prefectures adopted by Moses at the advice of his Midianite father-in-law. But if Genesis and Exodus were none too encouraging to republicans, the fact remains that only republican doctrine offered escape from the dilemmas that perplexed readers of Filmer and Tyrrell. Seventeenth-century Englishmen, for the most part, were at bottom more Bodinian than Aristotelian; they did not think that man was by nature political, so much as that he was by nature a subject and bearer of authority.

Professor Schochet argues that the thought of this period was unable to distinguish between state and society, and one can see what he means; but surely it is equally and conversely true that if social relations were not political, they did not adequately generate authority, with the result that authority must be exercised over social relations and could only with difficulty be derived from them. The dominion of Adam, the state of nature and the original contract were all confessions of the need, and the near-impossibility, of positing a pre-political origin of authority. It is from these biblical and scholastic puzzles that historical and sociological explanations of political society take their rise, and Filmer's attempt to represent subjection to authority as original and natural turns out to be one of a number of early confessions of the primacy of history over nature. The fact that the history concerned is biblical, not secular, is of less significance than the fact that the puzzle originated in the language of political perception.

Professor Schochet writes not as a historian, but as a political theorist concerned with the understanding and utilization of historical sources. There are invariably problems of demarcation involved in the making of such distinctions, and a reviewer situated somewhat nearer the historical end of the spectrum may be permitted to make some suggestions towards clarifying his material from a different point of view. More might be made, for example, of the connexion between several of Filmer's works and the "engagement" or "*de facto*" controversies beginning about 1648. Filmer himself justified submission to illegitimate governments and, as Professor Schochet tells us, we can learn from this just how fragile was his contention that authority was patriarchal even when usurped, and consequently that patriarchal authority was capable of being usurped. But the point might be pressed even further. The discussants of those years were not so much debating voluntarist against naturalist theories of authority, in the shape of constitutionalists arguing with absolutists, as beholding with eyes of horror the collapse and evaporation of authority and setting out with the common end of restoring it.

Filmer was no legitimist irreconcilable, and royalists who refused to obey the commonwealth are rare. It was his purpose—one he thought he had achieved in writing *Patriarcha* years before—to erect a watertight theory of authority, and his only quarrel with Hobbes was that the latter had tried to do the right thing in the wrong way.

But does this not mean that we can no longer think of Filmer as the archaic defender of a world of natural heirarchy assailed by the innovating fluidities of contract and consent? If the argument put forward above is correct, patriarchy and the state of nature shared a common fragility, the result of the need to posit a prepolitical condition and then look for a way out of it; and this is enhanced when we consider both arguments in the context of the de facto imperative to reconstitute authority after its undesired collapse. The structures of government in mid-seventeenth-century England were no more deeply rooted in philosophy than in society; the theorists of the age were authoritarians in search of an authority that could be relied on.

Since he does not write as a historian, Professor Schochet does not attempt to add to our knowledge of exactly what happened when Filmer's works were republished in 1679-81; he concludes his book with chapters which explore the role of patriarchal theory, at its different levels, in the thought of Hobbes and Locke, since—he tells us as a theorist—it is ultimately more important to elucidate the thought of the great intellects than to reconstruct a history composed largely of the writings of the deservedly forgotten. But the Filmerian revival was a remarkable achievement on the part of the unknown patrons who promoted the republication; it touched off an explosion of debate in many directions, and J. P. K[illegible] process of convincing[illegible] far from coming to [illegible] end in 1688 or 169[illegible] theories of governme[illegible] a highly de facto-ist [illegible] to give widespread [illegible] down into the ge[illegible] Sacheverell.

It is of more im[illegible] that Professor Scho[illegible] Lockean exegesis, v[illegible] does not situate him [illegible] with the exhaustion of the [illegible] chalist mode of argu[illegible] of historical change.

He suggests—as in[illegible] —that we must look for the [illegible] an age of "genetic" [illegible] which the origin of law [illegible] ment, right or power [illegible] it a form of authority which [illegible] ing could afterwar[illegible] quest was forever [illegible] contract and pater[illegible] and he seems to associate the [illegible] this geneticism with the [illegible] Locke's writings. It may [illegible] that this was among Locke's [illegible] intentions, but we are [illegible] see that the structures of [illegible] among eighteenth-century [illegible] were less obviously Lockea[illegible] used to be supposed.

Instead of the victory of a [illegible] contract over biblical genealo[illegible] now think in terms of the [illegible] a new radicalism, in which [illegible] and Commonwealthmen both [illegible] part and which propounded [illegible] Harringtonian thesis of the [illegible] nings of political society, con[illegible] less with the origins of right[illegible] with the establishment of pri[illegible]

Conservatives, prior at le[illegible] Burke, therefore stressed the [illegible] nity instead of the antiquity [illegible] erning systems, and argued [illegible] history contained no origina[illegible] ciples, but consisted on[illegible] moments, at which there [illegible] always structures of au[illegible] owing nothing to our conse[illegible] requiring our obedience on [illegible] de facto grounds. In such a [illegible] there was little enough roo[illegible] Adam and Sir Robert Filmer, [illegible] was none too clear which side [illegible] was on. And since this deba[illegible] tailed a further confrontati[illegible] ween the agrarian past a[illegible] commercial present of W[illegible] society, it promoted further [illegible] into the economic and famili[illegible] terns of primeval man which [illegible] ried debate far beyond the [illegible] Filmer, Harrington, Hobbe[illegible] even Locke. Not even the [illegible] of biblical authority did so [illegible] to spell the end of patriar[illegible] as the conceptual transforma[illegible] the prepolitical state of man [illegible] had lain at the roots of th[illegible] ment.

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Wielding the white staff

By Kevin Sharpe

MICHAEL van CLEAVE ALEXANDER:
Charles I's Lord Treasurer
Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Portland 1577-1635
261pp. Macmillan. £10.

In a review of Lawrence Stone's *The Causes of the English Revolution*, G. R. Elton asked historians of the early seventeenth century to put down binoculars focused on the Civil War and to examine "the political behaviour of all sorts of men in all sorts of institutions, unaffected by the foreknowledge of the later event". His request was first answered by a biography of Francis Cottington. Michael van Cleave Alexander has followed with a study of Lord Treasurer Weston.

Weston's career is not easily reconstructed: there is no central archive, nor collection of family papers. The complex story of his life has to be pieced together from county records and the documents of the institutions, committees and embassies on which he served. This need to search widely adds weight to the author's claim that a biography of Weston might throw valuable light on the administrative and parliamentary history of early Stuart England.

Richard Weston, the eldest son of a prosperous Essex gentleman, enjoyed a traditional family education at Cambridge and the Middle Temple, followed by a period of foreign travel. A long period "on the London scene" brought him into contact with the financiers Sir Arthur Ingram and Sir Lionel Cranfield. Through these associations he was appointed to a place on the commission to investigate the Navy, and in 1620 was elected as one of the embassy to Prague, to treat for the restoration of Frederick the Elector Palatine. On his return, Weston rose rapidly in court favour and was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1621. He finally obtained the white staff as Lord Treasurer in 1628.

The story, told here in a clear and lively style, is an interesting case-study of an able official's rise to high office—the other side of the coin to the meteoric ascent of favourites like Carr and Buckingham who lacked experience, but exercised great power. Weston was never totally dependent on Buckingham. On occasions he was critical of the favourite's policy—especially when costly wars imposed an impossible strain on the Treasury. But he lost the respect of the Commons in the late 1620s because he lacked the courage to break with the duke and so became identified with his policies. Weston saw the deficiencies of the administration, but he was one of those who sought to make the best of the system rather than to change it. Projects and new courses he thought but "glorious in show, difficult to effect and of very little profit in the end". At times we are not far from Pollard's portrait (in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) of the minister who tended "to postpone or to avoid difficulties". Certainly Weston's conservatism owed more to self-interest and ambition than Professor Alexander allows; but this does not detract from a convincing portrayal [illegible] efficient and—by the stand[illegible] his age—honest exercise of [illegible]

What is less convincing [illegible] fessor Alexander's general [illegible] of the politics of the period [illegible] Weston so atypical in his coun[illegible] efforts to promote coop[illegible] between king and Parli[illegible] There were more officials [illegible] earned the respect of the [illegible] Council and the House of Co[illegible] than the author allows. His [illegible] of the Parliaments of the [illegible] strongest when it draws on th[illegible] of others (especially Robert [illegible] study of the Parliament of [illegible] At other times Professor Ale[illegible] skates over the problems: p[illegible] such as the date of Sir John [illegible] volte face against Buckingha[illegible] reason for the retreat from i[illegible] ment proceedings again[illegible] favourite in 1628, the me[illegible] which the radicals took o[illegible] Commons in 1629. He fails [illegible] adequate attention to the [illegible] Lords.

These general weaknesses [illegible] from a full portrait of Westo[illegible] are left in doubt about his [illegible] about the nature and import[illegible] his relations with men lik[illegible] Keeper John Williams, [illegible] Wentworth, and especially [illegible] Howard, Earl of Arundel. S[illegible] these problems will not be r[illegible] perhaps, until we have good [illegible] of patronage and court facti[illegible] the 1620s. But they exist a[illegible] lems and should not be ignor[illegible] cause they are ignored and [illegible] Professor Alexander writes [illegible] cluding chapter, we finish th[illegible] without a sense of perspectiv[illegible] out a real understanding of W[illegible] place in the political strug[illegible] council and Parliament.

The black gold rush

By Frank McFadzean

[illegible]Y SAMPSON:
[illegible] Sisters
[illegible] Oil Companies and the [illegible] They Made
[illegible] Hodder and Stoughton.

[illegible]rtial curtain-raiser to the [illegible] of *The Seven Sisters* [illegible] Sampson gave an interview [at] the end of July to Austra[illegible]. It was an intemperate [illegible]. "Working the tax [illegible] "in bed with the pro[illegible]" and "obsessed with short-[illegible] profits" were some of the [illegible] used, while BP was [illegible] as "the classic example [illegible] Frankenstein monster". [illegible] this purple prose appears [illegible] book, with supplementaries [illegible] "self perpetuating oligar[illegible]" to describe management [illegible] in large corporations.

[illegible] *Seven Sisters* Mr Sampson [illegible] his most negative; at the [illegible] the reader is left wonder[ing] [illegible] kind of industrial state he [illegible]. While many of us view [illegible] and governments in [illegible] same way as Adam [illegible] described them two cen[illegible] Mr Sampson seems to [illegible] childlike faith in their supe[illegible] BP's Frankenstein monster [illegible] is justified by the fact [illegible] spite of Winston Chur[illegible] per cent investment in [illegible] predecessor company in 1914, [illegible] a purpose and objec[illegible] its own relatively free from [illegible] interference. Bully for BP [illegible] one person's reaction. [illegible] in spite of the growing [illegible] evidence of the adverse [illegible] political intervention in [illegible] railways, shipbuilding, [illegible] production, and so [illegible] Mr Sampson regards this [illegible] as reprehensible. [illegible] from the information [illegible] in his book, it is certain [illegible] political control of BP [illegible] have resulted in the com[illegible] in an entirely different, [illegible] shape than it is today; [illegible] at least doubtful whether [illegible] at present be developing [illegible] reserves which its enter[illegible] covered in Alaska.

[illegible] Sampson's predilection for [illegible] is brought out in other [illegible] without any real attempt to [illegible] whether the forecasting [illegible] investment programmes of [illegible] companies had produced [illegible] results over the past [illegible] decades or so, without any [illegible] of the many well-[illegible] shortcomings of monolithic [illegible] by governments, we are [illegible] bluntly that energy plan[ning] [illegible] forecasting cannot be left [illegible] in the hands of private [illegible]. It was possible to [illegible] was coming and I even[illegible] found that oil was too im[illegible] to be left to oil men, but I [illegible] in vain for any admission [illegible] effects of politics were too [illegible] to be left to politicians [illegible] books were too serious to [illegible] authors. All of this under[illegible] of the main defects of [illegible] *Sisters*; it is long on [illegible] and assertion but very [illegible] analysis.

[illegible] structure of the oil industry [illegible] shaped by many factors—[illegible] economic and historical. [illegible] days when many of the [illegible] East concessions were [illegible] there was relatively little [illegible] knowledge of where, in [illegible] of often inhospitable [illegible] oil would be found; [illegible] also few companies with [illegible] to risk in exploration. [illegible] a tendency, therefore, [illegible] concessions to be very large—[illegible] covering a whole country. [illegible] granted either to a [illegible] company or to a consortium [illegible] formed to spread the [illegible] nature of exploration [illegible] still is, such that large [illegible] money can be spent and [illegible] vary from nothing at all [illegible] of oil that can exert a [illegible] influence in the market. [illegible] Moreover, oil is produced at [illegible] of capital investment [illegible] costs—the difference [illegible] highest and lowest can be [illegible] a factor of forty. There [illegible] economic rents"—varying [illegible] according to market [illegible] inherent in various oils [illegible] of differences in quality [illegible] location. The in[illegible] all oil companies are far from being the same; the attitudes of companies with only one source of crude oil supply are likely to be different from those with several. Indeed, for the majors there has always been an underlying conflict between cheapness and security of supply. The latter, as the 1973 crisis showed, requires diversity of sources of supply; the former requires concentration on the cheapest cost producer. Considerable pressures were, and still are, brought to bear on companies to vary production in individual areas either upwards or downwards, with inevitable repercussions in other countries. One searches *The Seven Sisters* in vain for any analysis in depth of these important issues.

The first part of the book deals with the founding of the oil industry and the period between the two world wars. It is written in Mr Sampson's easy-flowing and very readable style but little is added to our existing stock of knowledge. This was the era of tycoons, of men exercising a degree of personal control and ruthless domination over the enterprises they had founded, that would not be possible today. Nor were these creative and aggressive types restricted to the oil industry; for every Rockefeller or Deterding you could find a Ford or a Carnegie. The end of the period saw the onset of the Great Depression, which continued in varying degree to the outbreak of the Second World War. The depression hit commodity prices particularly sharply and, with the approval of at least some governments, various production restriction schemes were introduced—for rubber, tea and tin for example—with a view to increasing profitability. However, over-production and price collapse had hit the oil industry even before the onset of the depression and at Achnacarry Castle in Scotland the major companies reached an agreement which effectively restricted competition. With Molière there was a belief at the time that it was no sin to sin in secret; it was only public scandal that gave offence. There were several objectionable features in the "As is" agreement but probably the most undesirable was its secrecy. In this respect it contrasted with some of the other commodity agreements which were made public and had provisions to prevent abuse. Although its authors long ago fled away into the storm, "As is" seems to remain a cross that the present members of the oil industry are supposed to continue to trundle along the Via Dolorosa.

For about a decade after the conclusion of hostilities in 1945 coal maintained its dominant role as a source of primary energy. Thereafter, as the total demand for energy surged, oil preempted the bulk of the increase and by the end of the 1960s coal began losing absolute, as well as relative, position. The contribution of oil increased for several reasons. For certain uses, such as the internal combustion engine, there is as yet no economic substitute and the rising standards of living resulted in a spread of car ownership that no one had envisaged two or three decades earlier. But even for uses such as steam-raising oil encroached on what had hitherto been largely the preserve of coal. Several factors were involved but the major one was undoubtedly the relative cheapness of oil. Although the result was negated and obscured by the excise policies pursued by consuming governments, oil prices moved against the inflationary trend and prices actually fell during the 1960s.

Here again there are many influences at work. There was first of all the enormous size and low technical costs of some of the large Middle East oilfields, while oil was also discovered in other countries such as Libya and Nigeria. Quite understandably the latter put pressure on the companies to produce and export so that they could derive revenue from their natural resource. Moreover, some of the newly found oil was in the hands of so-called independent companies many of whom were, as a consequence of import restrictions in the United States, compelled to find a market in other areas. Edith Penrose once described the structure of the international oil industry as an oligopoly with a fringe; to borrow her terms, the fringe increased very considerably in the 1960s and early 1970s until at the end of the period the seven sisters accounted for only about 60 per cent of crude oil production and around half of total oil refining and marketing. In places Mr Sampson writes as if they exercised complete dominance throughout the period.

Simultaneously with the developments in the crude oil side of the business, the industry went through a period of realizing economies both of scale and automation in almost all facets of its business. The size of individual plants in refineries was increased by a multiple of between three and five while the transportation savings in the jump from 50,000-ton tankers to the 210,000/310,000 tonners were of the order of 70 per cent.

The very factors which benefited the consuming countries—the low costs of crude oil production, increased competition and economies of scale—caused considerable concern to the producing countries, and eventually resulted in the formation of OPEC. The prices posted for crude oil formed the basis of the 50/50 tax arrangements which were first introduced into the Middle East producing countries in the early 1950s. Here one must take issue with Mr Sampson, who appears to be strangely ignorant of the principles of foreign tax credit. The tax proposals were not, as he implies, a "golden gimmick" conjured out of the deep by the oil companies, nor did they represent a "tax dodge". Foreign tax credit was in existence before the war and after 1945 was extended to all types of investment, and its principle was embodied in the model Double Taxation Convention published by the Fiscal Committee of the OECD in 1963. The main issue was put rather elegantly by George Schultz, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States:

> the basic foreign tax credit must be understood not as a tax loophole or positive incentive to foreign investment, but rather as part of a system designed to allocate primary taxing jurisdiction to the government within whose borders the income is earned. The system does not reduce the *total* tax bill of United States companies below the amount they would have paid to the United States if the income had been earned here. They are excused from paying United States tax on *foreign* income only to the extent that they have paid an equivalent tax on that income to a foreign government. We must accept the fact that other countries now impose taxes comparable to ours, so that the United States now collects little or no tax from operations in most major foreign countries.

If Mr Sampson were to make some elementary calculations from the figures which he gives on pages 202 and 205 relating to the five major United States oil companies, he would not find the taxes paid very surprising nor that they indicated a striking "common achievement of tax avoidance". Moreover, does Mr Sampson arrange his own personal affairs so as to attract the maximum amount of tax? By chance, as I was reading the book, the 1975 half-year results of his Frankenstein monster were published—income before taxation: £882.5m; income after taxation: £76.6m. An effective tax rate of 91 per cent can scarcely be regarded as prima facie evidence of tax fiddling or tax dodging.

There is much else with which it is possible to take issue. In his attitude to profits, Mr Sampson does not appear to be well acquainted with the "Doomsday Machine". He does not seem to grasp the fact that in times of high inflation companies using FIFO for stocks and historical accounts for depreciation can at one and the same time show "obscene" (but fictional) profits and be heading straight for liquidation. He cites various anti-trust cases against the companies but fails to mention the findings of those which have been closed, or the fact that behind the case in Japan lay a struggle between the Fair Trade Commission and the powerful MITI Ministry. All of this is a pity, because his description of the events that resulted in the quadrupling of oil prices in such a short space of time is, in many parts, well written. But Mr Sampson needs to make up his mind whether he wants to write a script for a Mogul programme or to be taken seriously as a critic of the free world's industrial structure. He has the intelligence and literary style to do either but, please, not both together in the same book.

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هكذا في الأصل

Below stairs at Cliveden

By Alastair Forbes

ROSINA HARRISON :
Rose : *My Life in Service*
268pp. Cassell. £3.25.

"Maidservants, I hear people complaining", said Carlyle more than a century ago, "are getting instructed in the 'ologies." Nowadays there are fewer maids for fewer employers to complain about, and of the latter surely only the most incorrigible Filipino-basher could find fault with a member of their staff seeking to emulate the example of the irrepressible Margaret Powell in progressing from Below Stairs through O and A levels towards the Open University, with a bestseller seldom off the simmer-plate.

Leigh "Reggie" Crutchley, the BBC writer-producer who first spotted Margaret Powell's talent and collaborated so rewardingly with her in her many books and broadcasts, has now struck fresh gold—I won't say paydirt. This "affable, familiar ghost" (Shakespeare, Sonnet 86) had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of a very different lady, though no less of a personality, who had already embarked on the book which she had long intended to write, chiefly about her thirty-five years spent "maiding" someone whose official biographer, Christopher Sykes, while he never quite succeeded in warming to his subject, felt bound to call "one of the five or six most famous women in the world": Nancy Langhorne, wife of the second Viscount Astor and first woman to take her seat in the House of Commons.

Rose : My Life in Service is the result of their teamwork. If there are rather more hints of Mr Crutchley's style, judgment and taste than the present reviewer would have preferred to detect, the book nevertheless carries the authentic stamp of Miss Harrison's own inimitable, unyielding yet very warm Yorkshire character and of her unique insight into the splendours and miseries of Cliveden and its inhabitants.

It would be understandable if the Astor family, feeling it has suffered over the years more than its share of embarrassing or hostile publicity, had been unhappy at the prospect of Miss Harrison's project coming to fruition. They might well have preferred her to remain in Worthing, "a far off, most secret and inviolate Rose" (W. B. Yeats). But in fact she has no old scores to settle or griefs to get out of her system. Surviving members of the family must surely recall, as others do, how often and how long before the publication of Michael Astor's memoir *Tribal Feeling*, she had teased her mistress by assuring her that after her death she hoped to shake herself down a substantial windfall as her biographer. And as she aptly says in this book, addressing herself to Michael Astor in particular:

> You left home when you were eight to go to your preparatory school. After that it was a place where you spent your holidays. I was there continuously for thirty five years so I feel as much, if not more, a member of the tribe, even though I may have been a more savage one.

All the same, in the circumstances it is not only Astor eyebrows which will be raised at Miss Harrison's statement that "there is a kind of Hippocratic oath, like doctors have, with servants". It calls for a kind of breathtaking Yorkshire chutzpah to set down that particular statement in a book of this kind. And yet Miss Harrison's discretion compares very favourably indeed with that of the Morans, Alanbrookes, Colvilles *e tutti quanti* who spilled such a variety of lucrative beans about Sir Winston Churchill, whom they had served in a confidential capacity. She has trodden a well-worn path very delicately, and has not so much aped her alleged betters as improved upon them.

The playwright William Douglas Home, who had a keen professional understanding of what one might call the Virginia ham side of Lady Astor's character, and used to have a marvellously successful way with her (though thirty years her junior, he would address as "my dear girl"), once told her that her biography "should be written by a volatile and sensitive buffoon who loves you and understands your approach to life". He had cast himself for the role, but Miss Harrison is an understudy who has walked off with the part. How did she come to it?

Born the eldest of a poor but happy and close-knit family of four, she was, like Beaumarchais's Countess Almaviva, christened Rosina, though destined for the life of a Figaro-less Susanna. "Ena" to her family, she has been Rose to everyone else. She "enjoyed learning" and "whereas most children left school at fourteen I stayed on until I was sixteen" learning French at sixpence a lesson and dressmaking for two years as an apprentice in Ripon, before going, at eighteen, to take her first job in London as "a young lady's maid". Here her status was already sufficient to enable her to be called, as of right, at 7 a m with a cup of tea, by an under-housemaid who also laid and lit her fire. "I didn't know what it was to lie in a bath until I was in service", she writes.

With her employers she would move, at the end of the London season, to Appleby Castle in Westmorland, where she soon became accustomed to the strict protocol below stairs. Upper servants were known by the lower as Pugs, and their sitting-room-cum-dining-room was the Pugs' Parlour. Here at one time the "sweet course and coffee" would be taken, after they had made their way from the servants' hall in exact order of precedence, much as the dons do at All Souls (though a marginal difference seems to have been that the servants went in for rather more "footy-footy" under the table and rather more "blushes and giggles" than the Fellows and their guests). In this first place, Miss Harrison tells us, she found that she had "developed a sense of humour which enabled me to laugh and get pleasure out of what I was doing where others might be moaning and groaning . . . and to live

Rose soon after she entered service, and today ; Lady Astor in her last years : from the book unde

through the worst crises and on occasions to tolerate rough treatment without getting in a rage or a tizzy". In other words she had the luck to discover what is nowadays called "job satisfaction". "There was", she adds, "fun to be had in the house too, for although we were all kept working we were a happy lot, and we'd break off at any time to make our own fun." True, there were only thirteen servants here and "the set-up would have seemed very strange to me a few years later, but then I accepted it because I knew no better".

She moved on to Lady Cranborne, now the Dowager Lady Salisbury, whom for five years, at £24 a year, she was to find "a pleasure to serve" but also adamant against any rise in wages. (In the current episodes of *Upstairs, Downstairs*, now covering a similar period, Daisy, in a much lower-ranked job, is shown as getting nearly twice as much.) So she took a drop in status and went back to being a "young lady's maid" at Cliveden, a house she already knew well, but with her wages raised to £60 a year.

At Cliveden there presided one of the greatest, if not the greatest, butlers of all time (nothwithstanding Miss Harrison's revelation that he used to put the claret on the hotplate). This was Mr Lee, who at twenty-six years of age had gone to work first as a footman and then as a valet to Waldorf Astor, and who had known and even appreciated Waldorf's father, the strange, shy first Viscount, a man whose regular habits, however eccentric, and notable generosity must have commended him to most discerning servants. As Miss Harrison writes, Mr Lee "would have been able even when I first knew him to have picked any job in the land. He had his standards and he kept to them. It stood to reason that if his employer didn't measure up to them, he would prefer to work for someone who did." In the event, like Mr Lee before her, she "found Waldorf Astor to be the epitome of an English gentleman . . . straight as a pitprop . . . more British than the British". When it came to Lady Astor, Mr Lee thought it right to explain and even warn that "she is not a lady as you would understand a lady, Miss Harrison". This reminded me of another great butler, alas now dead, who quite early in the present Queen's marriage would be asked to help out by Her Majesty's butler from time to time. At last, overcome by curiosity, his employer asked him what sort of a man Prince Philip was and received the reply, "Well, your Grace, he's not what you or I would call a gentleman".

Neither butler was speaking with disrespect, only with discrimination. But what bond was it, even more than the lengthening years of the relationship between trusting master and trusty servant, that Waldorf Astor and Mr Lee, both of them fastidious, conscientious, and reserved, felt in common? Surely it was the wonder they shared at the prattling Pocahontas in their midst, at the mercy of whose whims the tenor of their day-to-day lives lay. The sheer foreignness of this diminutive sort of princess from post-bellum Virginia can scarcely be exaggerated. No wonder Miss Harrison, writing of her Lady's (Lady Astor remains My Lady throughout this book) pleasure at the arrival of American forces in the Second World War, says that "she became almost bilingual, reverting constantly to the Deep South drawl". She might have cited the story of the lady who, in segregation days, telephoned down to the manager of the Astor Hotel in New York to complain that there were negroes in the hotel. "No, maam", she was reassured, "that is just Lady Astor's brother, Mr Buck Langhorne, and another Virginian gentleman talking in a room on the same floor."

Readers under forty, who never saw or heard Lady Astor, should go to see *Gone With the Wind* to catch the Southern flavour of Richmond and Lady Astor's Old Folks at Home there. If Vivien Leigh had only been fair enough or as beautiful she could have turned in a good performance as Nancy Astor, particularly as one guest recalls her at one of her own grandest dinner parties, "fanning herself with a dinner plate and pushing back her diamond tiara as if it had been an old hat". I remember the first time I went to Cliveden being shown by Mr Lee (it seemed perfect that he should share a name with the South's greatest general and gentleman) Mr Langhorne's old brass spittoon and being told of the prodigious feats of spitting performed by Lord Astor's father-in-law.

Rose Harrison, who we twenty times to America mistress, instinctively and came to share her lo old home, Mirador, wh writes with winning and u enthusiasm, "I saw the m derful sight of my life the fireflies lit up the tre Christmas. It was one of th wonders of the world to me the young Walter Elliot, down from Scotland, nagging nostalgia in his when he wrote: "Clived never more itself than in on the high paved terrace its drawing-room windows, always looked for the firefl Sometimes when along the Western Railway the eng ties sounded over the Tha ley up to the big house, that Nancy Astor was half for the old No 4, with shorts and two longs for Ben tunnel before the Gre depot.

Like her sisters and bro Lady Astor had been broug love her negro mammy (nanny) and to indicate her and affection for older c servants by calling them A Uncle as well as by name; full names could be pretty sive; one of the most loved servants was Mrs Virgil Brown.) "I can't remember when I didn't love some man or woman just as m anyone in the family. To seemed to be part of the Only those who have lived South in the old days wi stand this." Thus Nancy recalled her youth. It was dor Aunt who exclaimed to her return from marrying Astor in England, "Oh, nie, you'se sho' done ou yo'self".

In her own special way, Rose Harrison succe replacing at Cliveden this Virginian element. She had on spotted a quite cruel streak in her unladylike L knew just how to bully or better still launch a pre strike against her. Nancy A the dead spit and image little girl in the rhyme wi in the middle of her forehe life was a losing fight to ke resolutions. "I started out myself a Christian. So far utterly failed", she twenty years before her de couldn't understand that i

llow the semi-literate and ientific religious quack- y Baker Eddy, "the lady Mass, Hung up on sin, was making it almost for herself to reach her

Astor is not a religious e's all the time looking r she can never find", able Lee is quoted here telling the author, and he ly right. Rose Harrison that "when she allowed nature to take over, she person. It was when she herself to her religion went wrong with her." rtainly went wrong be- and her family when she Mrs Eddy and her so- ctitioners to take over own natural instincts of and humorous sym- which were outstanding. to Heaven for keeping theery", Julian Grenfell to her from the front was killed in the First War.

ines, it must be admitted, diness was a bit on the "You're frightened of n't you?" she insisted on into my ear as she ed my stretcher while it y wheeled into the operat- re at the Canadian Army in the Cliveden grounds. I wasn't, on that day at al

-possessive but touching her first-born son, Bobbie it of her first brief mar- a polo-playing Bostonian , who raged and drank f teaching his virgin Vir- e to enjoy kissing and ed), set him on a text- urse to homosexuality and ual traumatic prison sen- Their love for each other a whit diminished by this which in those distant family could keep out of s. But she drove this ically funny and lovable o more drink and depres- despair by disobeying Ber- aw's for once sensible no account to try forcing on the poor persecuted s Harrison, thank good- ite avoids the censorious e marred Christopher handling in his book of who was a vital part of the scene and an integral d the tribe.

s really no need to once more the great his- bar and canard of the Cli- Set, that Cock-and-Burn over in *The Week*, the re influential but less and unillustrated version te *Eye*, but Miss Harrison theless done a good job on here. To her friend far left, Sean O'Casey, tor had said, "I hate dic- whether they are from the left. Like St Paul, I was " Ribbentrop was never Cliveden. She never met nd didn't take to Stalin : as so often, her rap session with him soon turned into a rap-over-the-knuckles session. And if, like the great majority of the British people and Parliament, she came for too long under Neville Chamberlain's inexplicable spell, she had the guts to vote him out in 1940.

Thereafter, she and Lord Astor conducted themselves throughout Plymouth's long wartime ordeal with an exemplary courage which Rose Harrison shared, and which she describes very well indeed in her book. She emerged with redoubled affection and admiration for her employers : she had found a side to idolize in her wayward mistress. Of herself and the rest of the staff she writes :

> No longer did the distinction of servant and master apply. We were family. We'd been shown qualities which no other circumstances would have demonstrated to us, and had shared emotions that would otherwise have remained hidden. We'd liked what we'd seen and these things were now ties as strong as those of class and birth. They are bonds . . . that have given my life a purpose.

The story of the Astors and Plymouth was well worth retelling and deserves its place in history. Without it, indeed, Lady Astor's memory would be difficult to keep alive for those who neither knew nor saw her. She was a dazzling fair beauty with unforgettable sapphire-blue eyes which she had inherited from her half-Irish mother. She shared with some other American women what has been described as "an unusual blend of feminity and sexlessness". Winston Churchill, who couldn't stand her, said that she "combined a kindly heart with a sharp, wagging tongue", a not unusual combination as it happens. He might have said the same of her as he once said of his son Randolph, namely that she "had big guns and not enough ammunition".

The view of one of her own sons, as expressed to me, was that his mother had a fantastic gift for communication but perhaps not very much to communicate. In the realm of ideas that may have been true. But she could wonderfully well communicate her gift of friendship and hospitality. The latter made Cliveden, as Bernard Shaw said, "like no other country house on earth . . . you meet everybody worth meeting, rich or poor, at Cliveden". Rose Harrison says that Nancy's "two main pleasures were meeting people and telling off drunks". The latter pleasure, she wittily adds, came under the heading of "loving to preach what she practised", a rather cruel sport when the captive audience was tethered by alcoholic stupor.

Her main fault, and this is what in the long run made Upstairs at Cliveden so much less happy than Downstairs, was her inability to express outwardly an affection she may or may not have always felt inwardly. "Be as nice to Waldorf as he is to you", Mr Langhorne had urged her at Mirador. And Rose Harrison writes:

> If only she could have returned half the affection he gave to her he would have been a rich man in every way. I used to long for her to do it and I went as far as I could to tell her of my longing. It wasn't any good. She wasn't equipped to show love.

And for Rose, as for most people, "real love is the love that shows".

In fact the "Shut up, Rose"s so often quoted in this book from "My Lady" were just her barking-without-biting way of wagging her tail in friendship, and over the years the relationship of maid and mistress grew steadily closer. "I got so that I couldn't enjoy myself on my time off . . . I wondered what she would be getting up to and how the other servants were coping with her". In the end Rose came to confine herself to one short afternoon off a week.

"In old age", Michael Astor perceptively noted in his diary of this period of his mother's life, "family relationships don't count for a pin". Rose Harrison had become more to her than any other human being, and despite the pilgrimage of sons, nieces, nephews, grandchildren, and of course other servants to her deathbed, that death belonged above all to Rose, whom chance or destiny had sent to her thirty-five years before. The difference between the two women was that Rose Harrison has succeeded in having a completely happy life and has never caused her family a moment's unhappiness. Her book, stuffed with interesting and amusing anecdotes, tells most readably of the very full and contented life she has led working for others richer but never happier than herself.

Despite one very long engagement, she has never married ; which was fortunate for Lady Astor. But, though for some curious reason she doesn't mention it in her book, Mr Lee, now entering on his ninetieth year with a smiling face that scarcely looks sixty, has long been happily married to the beautiful Cliveden parlour maid Emily. Though they don't bother to watch *Upstairs, Downstairs* on the telly ("Not quite our style, is it, Sir?"), this handsome couple remain a wonderful advertisement for domestic service as a vocation and a career, and also, of course, for themselves. So does Miss Harrison herself, as her book and its excellent photographs emphasize.

It is a pity Mr Crutchley and the publishers have allowed a few errors and misspellings to creep in. I was touched by the praise lavished by the author on the skills and kindness of the chef of my own childhood, René Lamy (*not* Lamé), the man who made the first madeleine into which I ever bit ; a properly Proustian note on which to close the nostalgic memories of Cliveden and the hospitality of the Astors which Rose Harrison's book has aroused.

aughty Nineties and all that

ita Secker

ROUGH :
and The Lily
Hodder and Stoughton.

Charlotte Langtry was born in 1852, the daughter of of Jersey, the Rev. W. C. Her mother, a Miss of Chelsea, had in her youth scribed by Charles Kingsley most beautiful creature I ", and Henry Kingsley, 's brother, had determined her until forestalled by death. In 1874 Lily mar- Edward Langtry, an Ulster- a widower who had come to Jersey some years pre- Edward, appears to have of nature's cyphers and long before Lily, set- peace, decided that England to offer than the Channel they came to Southamp- but they soon moved time to London and a Eaton Place. up by Lord Ranelagh, had met in Jersey, Lily's London society was assured. Millais painted her portrait, the famous "A Jersey Lily", which was to be hung in the Royal Academy. Watts and Burne-Jones were quickly to follow suit. Her introduction to the Prince of Wales came about through a mutual friend, Captain Allen Young, at a supper party given by him and instigated by the Prince himself as a means of meeting her. So began an affair and friendship acknowledged even by the Prince's wife Alexandra. In 1881, inspired perhaps by having seen Sarah Bernhardt in the Comédie Française season in London, she embarked upon a theatrical career, appearing under the management of Squire Bancroft as Kate Hardcastle in *She Stoops to Conquer*. Her future parts were many and varied and in 1890 she felt confident enough to assume management of the St James's Theatre, reviving *As You Like It* in which she had made a success in both England and America at the start of her career. In later years this remarkable woman became equally successful and well known on the Turf, owning a string of racehorses and winning most of the important handicaps and the Ascot Gold Cup.

There were no children of her marriage to Edward Langtry (who died in 1897 and from whom she had obtained an American divorce in the early 1880s) but in 1881, in Paris, her daughter Jeanne-Marie, the illegitimate child of Prince Louis of Battenberg, was born. In 1889 Lily married Hugo de Bathe, a man twenty years younger than herself, who succeeded his father in 1907 as the fifth baronet. Lily's colourful life ended, aptly enough, in Monaco in 1929.

It takes no great effort to vulgarize the life and times of Edward VII, and James Brough in *The Prince and the Lily* does just that. We have it all : the brothels, the prostitution (male and female), the gossip—the more salacious the better ; even a hint of lesbianism, surely a fact of life scarcely mentioned in the 1880s, is introduced from, apparently, contemporary speculation. Dates are so sparse as to be almost non-existent and when they do appear are frequently misprinted, unless there is something very peculiar indeed about Mr Brough's chronology. The index is equally erratic : a search for Frances Maynard who figures fairly prominently in the text, and who later became in succession Lady Brooke and the famous "Daisy" Lady Warwick, produces only Lord Brooke. Easton Lodge, the home of Lady Warwick, appears throughout as Eaton Lodge and is not indexed at all and Lord Alfred Douglas's familiar name is misspelt.

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Riots and repressions

By George Rudé

JOHN STEVENSON and ROLAND QUINAULT (Editors):

Popular Protest and Public Order
Six Studies in British History, 1790-1920

242pp. Allen and Unwin. £5.25.

Metropolitan Police on duty in case of trouble at Bonner's Fields during the demonstrations of 1848: one of the many pictures in The Illustrated London News Social History of Victorian Britain *by Christopher Hibbert (159pp. Angus and Robertson. £4.20).*

This is a welcome addition to the growing volume of literature on social protest that has recently been appearing from the pens of English and American writers. The six pieces in this book range over food riots and rural and urban disturbances in England and Scotland between the outbreak of the French Revolution and the end of the First World War.

As in all such cases, the reviewer has a double task: both to assess the merits of the individual contributions and to pass judgment on the volume as a whole. The first of these tasks is by no means a disagreeable one as each of the six chapters has something useful, and sometimes original, to say. John Stevenson's study of English food riots during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is a case in point. By choosing this period he has been able to fill a gap left by Walter Shelton, E. P. Thompson, R. B. Rose and others who have worked in this field so that now we have a fairly complete picture—far fuller than we have for France or other countries in Europe—of what the eighteenth-century food riot was all about. Dr Stevenson not only applies to his own period the methods already used by others regarding the nature, the origins, the composition and ideology of riot: he adds much that is new of his own.

For one thing, he has paid far closer attention to the incidence and distribution of disturbance; so he has counted and recorded no less than seventy-four outbreaks in 1795-96, fifty in 1800-01 (where W. F. Wearmouth recorded a dozen), twenty-nine in 1810-13 and twenty-two between 1816 and 1818; and for each of these shorter periods he has considered the location of riot in terms of economic change and the changing pattern of communications. He concludes among other things that while agricultural workers at no time played a significant part, by 1800 there was an appreciable shift towards the manufacturing districts; yet it did not last long. As industry developed, the food riot changed its nature and eventually died out. Already by 1800 food rioting, having reached its peak a few years before, was being eclipsed by other forms of protest, such as strikes and the breaking of machines; in the East Anglian explosion of 1816 workers were simultaneously demanding higher wages and lower prices and rioting to enforce them both (a phenomenon unheard of in the eighteenth century); and by 1830 the food riot had virtually disappeared from the English counties except in the far south-west.

In the Scottish Highlands the position was very different; here the older forms of protest persisted far longer than they did even in England's Celtic fringe. In his study of Highland discontent between 1790 and 1860, Eric Richards argues that up to this point—and even for another twenty years to come—protest was still of the "spontaneous", "backward-looking" kind of a pre-industrial society. Food rioting was more in evidence in 1847 than in any other year; and the agitation against the Clearances, which had had its beginnings in the early 1780s, went on into the 1850s with hardly any change of form. In fact, Highland protest, which was also concerned with the induction of unpopular ministers, retained its traditional flavour until the "Battle of the Braes" on the Isle of Skye in the 1880s. In one respect, however—and perhaps the author does not stress this point enough—there was a significant intrusion from the more developed industrial society beyond: long before this, support had come for the crofters' cause from Free Church ministers and Highland land reformers from as far afield as Edinburgh and London.

F. C. Mathers's theme is one which, unlike Dr Richards's, has often been explored before: the General Strike of 1842, better known to historians as the Plug Plot Riots. But though the subject is familiar enough, his treatment is a novel one. He sets out to examine why the strike never reached the insurrectionary—or even revolutionary proportions—that many contemporaries believed it possessed. In brief, as the reader might well expect the question to be, how far did England fall short of being in a revolutionary situation in 1842? But Dr Mathers's focus is somewhat different; at least one must suppose so from the way he handles the case. He does a thorough job in disposing of the legend that there was a conspiracy afoot, hatched by Chartist and trade-union leaders, to overthrow the Government by force. He denies that they or any of their subordinates had any such intention and he shows that even if they had they lacked the means to carry them out: they refused to countenance violence, they lacked support among the workers in basic industry, and they were no match for the Government's counter-measures which were both vigorous and thorough. So far, so good; but there is more involved in a revolutionary situation than the presence or absence of a capable and determined group of leaders on either side of the barricades. Dr Mathers appears to agree, but by answering his own question in the way that he does he also appears to attribute to this single factor a greater importance than it deserves. It is a pity as it was an excellent question and one which, even in a short paper, deserved to be more thoroughly explored.

The two papers that follow—the one by D. Philips on the Black Country of 1835-1860, the other by Roland Quinault on the Warwickshire magistracy of 1830-1870—have in common that they both straddle the transitional period of the 1850s and that they are both concerned with the suppression of protest as much (or almost as much) as with protest itself. Dr Quinault's chapter, in fact, is the only one in the book which is primarily concerned with public order, in the person of the county justice. He argues that, contrary to the received wisdom, a very high proportion of justices were recruited from Church of England clergy even as early as the 1830s and that it was only two or three decades later that squires and landowners came to dominate the county bench. He shows also that, regardless of the political complexion of the government of the day, the justices were always overwhelmingly Tory. But, he claims, the magistrate's effectiveness or pattern of behaviour cannot be explained in terms of the political or social group to which he belonged. Circumstances and the forces at his disposal counted for a great deal more. The year 1857, with the advent of the county police force, served as a watershed; soon after, the special constable had become redundant and the military ceased to be called in. So the means of repression had dramatically changed. But the change had come about not only because administrators thought one means of maintaining order was better than another, but because the nature of protest itself had changed with the decline in its more violent "direct-action" forms in the 1840s.

Similar problems are discussed, though the focus is different, in D. Philips's paper on Black Country disturbance. This also deals with the transitional period of the 1840s and 1850s but, unlike Quinault's, it is more concerned with riots than with their repression. He divides the riots into two kinds: the A-type, the "more serious", which includes political, semi-political and industrial violence; and the B-type, the "less serious", which includes crowd assaults on the police, attempts to rescue prisoners, street brawls and the like. He shows that, apart from the most riotous year of all, the year 1842, the two types followed separate paths and there was no clear direct relationship between the two. But they both had in common that they tended to phase out, or at least to become more muted in terms of violence, around the mid-1840s. He illustrates the point by drawing a dividing-line between the numbers of indictments for riot of both types occurring before and after 1845: in the first eleven years (1835-1845) there were 123 and in the remaining fifteen years (1846-1860) only forty-five. For this he puts forward a two-fold explanation, which is somewhat similar to Quinault's: on the one hand, the new police, after an initial phase of "police-bashing" in 1843-45, proved an effective means of public control; and, on the other, there had been an almost simultaneous decline in violence, not only in the forms of protest but in "normal social life".

After these mid-century chapters, Iain McLean's final paper on Red Clydeside in 1915-19 seems to be rather out on a limb. It has a certain affinity with Dr Mathers's piece on the General Strike of 1842 in that the author shows that the Clyde Workers' Committee which directed the protest movements of 1915 and 1919 had no more intention of provoking a revolution than their Chartist forbears in the century before. But there the similarity ends; for whereas Mathers raises problems and discusses not only the leaders' resources at their ... McLean eschews all ... tells his story straight.

But this lack of cohesi... some extent at least, a w... the volume as a whole. ... that the title is misleading ... contributors have writt... protest or its suppression ... bination of the two; but it ... as if six prima donnas ... pushed on to the stage and ... name of the play, but ... left to fend for themselv... course, it would be unfair ... gest that similar problems ... discussed (this is most evid... in the case of Quinault and ... but it appears to be more ... dent than design. Admitt... reader is offered some c... tion in the introduction, w... editors take him by the h... guide him through the b... recent research in the fie...

This is admirable as far a... but, in a cooperative ent... this kind, it is not only t... but the contributor who ... some degree of editorial ... to ensure that certain pro... discussed by all as part o... mon plan. In this respect, ... lesson may perhaps be lea... the guidelines, taking the ... a questionnaire, given b... Landsberger to his fellow... tors to *Rural Protest: Peas... ments and Social Change* ... is true that editorial gui... this kind runs counter to ... tradition of scholarship ... pects the individual schol... lone wolf following his f... out restraints; but it has a... merit of helping to give ... cohesion to what might ... be a loose assortment of c... parts. In this case, the fa... a glaring one and it m... churlish to end on a sli... tive note in reviewing a ... in other respects, has s... recommend it. But the... Australian friend of mi... say after making a partic... palatable suggestion, "ah ... just an idea".

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Concepts of crime

By Leon Radzinowicz and J. F. S. King

...wards the control of beliefs about its causes ... same thing. Yet they ... linked. The links may ... are not, openly admit... analysed. The attitudes ... for granted, implied ... explicit. Yet, particu... some countries and at ... they are brought ... consciously crystal... expressed. Where an ... coherent set of atti... shared by academic law... administrators and ... public opinion, we can ... "school" of criminal ...ology.

... Europe, where aca... been particularly in... formulating attitudes ... crime and criminals, has ... succession of rival schools ... Until recently Eng... the United States, where ... and judges have played ... decisive role, have ... from these contro... has, indeed, been true ... English-speaking countries. ... have taken a more ... responding to the ... of events, meeting the ... of crime as they have ... they too are being ... the opposition between ... different approaches ... understanding and control ... by nagging demands to ... with a compromise and ... themselves to a single ... attitude. Yet in all ... to forget the attempts ... been made in the more ... to formulate consistent ... and designs. When they ... in modern dress we ... their origins.

...al and ...attitude

... modern school of criminology emerged against a back... of arbitrary severity in ... century Europe. The ... brought a revolt ... unquestioning accept... tradition and authority, against the pervading ... appeals to what were seen ... law" and "natural ... demands that the law ... the citizen and his ... The liberal doctrine of ... as summed up by the ... Cesare Beccaria, chal... by one, the assump... practices of arbitrary sys... were its central ten...

... law should restrict the ... as little as possible. ... part of its function ... moral virtues as such. ... essential to serve the ... particular society use... the tally of crime. ... law should guarantee ... of the accused at all ... criminal justice. ... should give clear and ... knowledge of what was ... and of the sanction ... disobedience. ... should take the form of a ... written "social con... so that people could ... their liberties were protected.

... Punishment was justified ... so far as the offender ... infringed the rights of

... severity should be drastically curtailed: it should be no ... proportionate to the ... committed, and it should ... beyond what was neces... deter the criminal and ... from injuring their fel... should be just sufficient ... that the penalty ... the advantage ... from the crime.

... nature of the penalty ... correspond with that of ... fines would suffice ... theft, but corporal ... or physical labour ... follow crimes of violence. ... seemed a particu... appropriate penalty in an ... valued liberty above ... it lent itself well ... exact gradation be... and punishment.

... Punishments must be in... speed and certainty, ... to create the closest ... association in people's ... crime and its in... penalty. This would be ... achieve if sanctions ... just and moderate.

... Exemplary punishment ... ruled out as unjust. Like... "reformation" must not ... upon criminals: they ... be compelled to un... anything except the legal ... And, since the ... was to be strictly related to the crime, it should not be varied to suit the personality or circumstances of the offender. He should suffer for what he had done, not for what he was or might become, or for danger he might threaten in future.

(x) The criminal was to be treated as a rational, responsible being, who could weigh up the consequences of crime and had the same power as anyone else to resist it.

(xi) The prevention of crime was to be achieved by the clear code of offences and punishments, supplemented by better education and better rewards for virtue: in the light of their experience the liberals of the Enlightenment utterly rejected the idea that crime could be or should be forestalled by police watchfulness. The mainstay of prevention must be not the regulation of morals, nor control of suspects, but punishment of actual crime.

The principles of this doctrine were never fully translated into reality. But thinking, writing and teaching were profoundly inspired by them. Even more important, new codes of criminal law and procedure all round the world aspired to follow the liberal creed. The process spanned most of the nineteenth century, from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the first criminal code of the French Revolution, by way of the Code Napoléon of 1810, the Bavarian code drawn up by Feuerbach in 1813 and the Zanardelli code for Italy of 1889. Even in England, with its suspicion of cut-and-dried systems, the abortive yet influential code constructed by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen—like Edward Livingston's famous "System of Penal Law" for the State of Louisiana in 1824 and the code drawn up for New York by David Dudley Field in 1865—bore the unmistakable marks of this influence. What had begun with the liberal and revolutionary impulses of the Enlightenment acquired, in the sphere of criminal justice, the title of the classical school of criminal law and penal policy. Classical it certainly was in its apparent simplicity, its idealism, and its emphasis on proportion and restraint, on logical rules to be known and accepted by all.

The positivist attitude

The first major onslaught upon the elegant structure of classicism reverberated in its turn all round the world. Launched towards the end of the nineteenth century, it was again the product of a European school, based on radical criticism of the immediate past and projecting a revolutionary programme for the future control of crime. Though schools are inevitably identified with their leaders, their conception, growth and acceptance depend upon the environment of their time. The liberal outlook had been born with the assertion of human rights, and the classical school had developed in response to the need for a reformed and stable order. But the new wave of reformers had only a dim perception of the arbitrary abuses that had impelled liberals and classicists to these ends. They were living in a Europe where it seemed stability could at last be taken for granted, and with it freedom from the tyrannies of the past. What concerned them was progress towards greater social justice.

The classical school, one of whose leaders instructed his pupils that crime was not an entity in fact but an entity in law, showed no interest in studying the sources of criminal behaviour. But with Darwin opening up the life sciences, with Comte and Spencer establishing the social sciences, with the beginnings of modern psychiatry and psychology, what more natural than that all these should be extended into the explanation and control of criminal behaviour, whether seen as part and parcel of society or of the individual human personality?

When the classical school emerged, the measurement of crime was in its infancy. But by the time the new school was born several European countries could offer criminal statistics which made it possible to compare the trends of crime over substantial periods, to recognize its persistence, to challenge the failure of classical doctrines to bring it into check, and to claim that a totally new approach was essential for the protection of society.

Three major books, all the work of Italian scholars, heralded this second revolution in attitudes towards crime. The first was *L'Uomo Delinquente* (The Criminal Man) by Cesare Lombroso (1876). The second was *Criminal Sociology* (1878) by Enrico Ferri. The third was *Criminology* (1884) by Raffaele Garofalo. These three and their disciples adopted with pride the title of positivists, the term used by Comte to define his own system of philosophy. Like him, they insisted that what mattered was not idealistic speculation but positive facts and observable phenomena. They emphasized experiment rather than deductive reasoning. They might well have taken as their maxim the words of the veteran French statistician, André-Michel Guerry:

> The time has gone by when we could claim to regulate society by laws established solely on metaphysical theories and a sort of ideal type which was thought to conform to absolute justice. Laws are not made for men in the abstract—but for real men, placed in precisely determined conditions.

As so often happens, the central tenets of the positivist school reversed, in almost all respects, those of its rival. Where the classicists concentrated upon the crime, the positivists concentrated upon the criminal. Where the classicists saw the offender as rational and responsible, free to choose whether or not to break the law, the positivists saw his behaviour as strongly influenced, if not completely determined, by his innate constitution and immediate environment. Where the classicists insisted that the punishment must be strictly related to the crime, the positivists took the line that it must be related to the offender. Where the classicists saw the sentence primarily as proportionate to the crime already committed, the positivists saw it as a measure for the prevention of future crimes. Where the classicists rejected adaptation of the penalty to the individual personality of the criminal, the positivists insisted upon it. Where the classicists ruled out attempts to reform the law-breaker, the positivists advocated them. And where the classicists prohibited consideration of whether the lawbreaker threatened future danger, the positivists insisted that his future dangerousness should be the central criterion for deciding whether or not a criminal must be detained for the protection of others. The contrast between the two schools has been well summed up in the aphorism: "The classical school exhorts men to study justice, the positivist school exhorts justice to study men."

In their fierce and prolonged confrontation with the classicists, the positivists never managed to take over the field. They got nearest to it in 1919, when Ferri was invited under royal decree to draft a code for Italy based upon positivist principles. But when it came to the crunch the code was rejected. One or two Latin American countries, such as Cuba, adopted measures inspired by it, as did the first criminal code of the Soviet Union, that of 1927. Such concepts as "dangerousness" fitted in only too well with the need of revolutionaries to eliminate opponents. That, however, did far more harm than good to the reputation of the positivist school.

Though they did not crush their adversaries, the positivists nevertheless succeeded in infiltrating the classicist camp at several vital points. This resulted in a kind of compromise, an amalgam of classical and positivist elements. Their influence was reflected in the proceedings of the International Association of Criminal Law between 1889 and 1914, in those of the Société Générale des Prisons de Paris, even in those of the International Penal and Penitentiary Congresses, composed as they were of cautious and hard-bitten government administrators. It can be traced in the work of Garçon in France, Prins in Belgium, van Hamel in Holland, Von Liszt in Germany.

The penal codes of the period, while retaining their classical outlines, admitted important positivist modifications. There were radical departures in the treatment of young offenders, longer, even indeterminate, sentences for habitual criminals, extensions of the insanity rules and the idea of diminished responsibility, a new willingness to concede alternatives to imprisonment, like the suspended sentence in Europe, and probation in the United States and England. The most harmonious blending of the classical and positivist elements was perhaps that achieved in the Swiss Code of 1937. The Model Penal Code, which a group of American lawyers under the leadership of Herbert Wechsler have been devising since 1952, shows similar characteristics. It has a classical logic and concern for legality, offences being grouped in terms of their gravity, and penalties in terms of corresponding but restrained severity. But this is modified by special "positivist" provisions for the young, the mentally abnormal, and the dangerously persistent. Alongside the modification of the classical codes has come a modification in penal practice, a move away from rigid and impersonal conceptions like solitary confinement towards more diversified and humane attempts to reform offenders rather than merely punish them.

The positivists gave a new and powerful impetus to movements for the rehabilitation of offenders, though they certainly did not initiate them. The desire to reform and restore those who break the law is as old a response to crime as any. It found expression in the Old and New Testaments; in the medieval Church and in Tudor England; in the Rasphuis in Amsterdam, the houses of correction in the Hanseatic cities, the avant-garde establishment for juveniles at Mettrai in France, and the Quaker penitentiaries and Elmira in the United States: and it actuated the pioneers of probation. It sprang from philanthropic, religious and humanitarian initiatives, essentially practical and experimental, based on faith rather than systematic theory. But the positivist insistence that treatment must fit personality, that penal policy and welfare policy could interact in the prevention and control of crime, gave a new political significance to this approach, as well as what then seemed a scientific framework and justification.

The towering figure of Sigmund Freud, with his impact on the way people saw themselves and their experiences, also deeply influenced attitudes to delinquents. Disciples of Freud who ventured into criminology acknowledged a debt to Lombroso but rejected his classifications and explanations. They used psychoanalytical concepts, particularly to interpret persistent juvenile delinquency. Such terms as frustration, maladjustment, mental conflicts, antisocial or asocial attitudes, passed into the currency of diagnosis and treatment. By way of reaction there grew up the suspicion that this whole approach offered elaborate excuses for offenders, implying that they were at the mercy of their experiences.

Several features of the positivist creed combined to prevent its acceptance as a complete and exclusive system. It took little, if any, account of procedural protections for the suspect or offender. It replaced the familiar idea of criminal responsibility with the somewhat unconvincing concept of

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"social responsibility", based not on moral guilt but on the requirements of society, and leading not to punishment but to "measures of social defence". In stipulating that the measures taken to deal with offenders should be related to their personalities rather than their crimes, it could be seen as undermining general deterrence. And, in so far as some of its precepts were put into practice, they failed to achieve the impact on recidivism so confidently predicted by its advocates.

The positivist school is today in disarray, indeed it no longer exists as a coherent force, even in its native Italy. Though the theme of individual differences in offenders will always evoke great interest, the etiological explanations advanced by Lombroso and Ferri were long ago discredited as crude and unscientific. Equally discredited by history was their assumption that it was no longer necessary to bother about strict legal restraints on the discretion of administrators to detain or to treat offenders. In particular it has become all too clear how dangerous the very concepts of "dangerousness", and even of "reformation", can be as tools of oppression; and how easily measures of "social defence" can be used as weapons of social aggression. Modern research, far from demonstrating the success of attempts to classify and reform offenders, has tended to draw attention to their failures.

Some of the most direct challenges both to positivism and to the "treatment" approach may be counted as neoclassical. An influential group of Quakers in America has reasserted Beccaria's principle that the state has no right to force reformative measures upon an offender, or to penalize him for anything but the offence he has just committed. A person convicted of crime should be told about social services that might help him. If he does not avail himself of them of his own accord, and goes on offending, he should not be compulsorily referred to them: he should simply be punished. Others in the United States have followed this lead.

Some of the leading criminologists in Scandinavian countries have been saying much the same thing. They feel that the penal system has not been very successful in reforming people, and that in any case the criminal law and its administrators should stick to their proper business of meting out justice. Most recently we have had echoes of this in England. Here the target attacked has been administrative discretion to grant early release from penal institutions, with its uncertainties and possible injustices. It is urged that an offender is entitled to know from the start the penalty he has to pay. Though some consideration may be conceded to the influence of personal factors and of the social situation that may have conduced to crime, the basis of the sentence should be, essentially, old-fashioned culpability. Nothing should be added for the sake of treatment, nothing subtracted as a reward for demonstrating improvement.

The sociological approach

The opposition between the classicists and the positivist school initiated by Lombroso should not blind us to what they had in common. Although the positivists took account of social conditions, they thought of them primarily in their impact on individuals. Both schools took it for granted that the starting point was the individual offence, the individual offender. Both hoped to achieve control of crime by way of the criminal law and the penal system. Their battles and their compromises were fought out in the shaping of criminal codes and penal practice. Much more radical is the gulf between these schools, with their fundamentally individualist outlook, and those who have seen crime as a social product, determined by social conditions, capable of being controlled, if at all, only in social terms.

Adolph Quetelet was the first great interpreter of criminal statistics when they began to appear year by year in the 1820s. In characteristically dramatic style he announced his findings: "We can count in advance how many individuals will soil their hands with the blood of their fellows, how many will be swindlers, how many poisoners, almost as we can number in advance the births and deaths that will take place." And he drew this equally dramatic conclusion: "Society carries within itself, in some sense, the seeds of all the crimes which are going to be committed, together with the facilities necessary for their development."

In a sense all subsequent attempts at social explanations of crime are extensions of that doctrine. In societies, as they exist, crime is normal. The facts to be investigated in order to understand crime are social rather than individual, and its control must depend upon changes in social conditions. Changing social conditions were indeed producing crime. The state of the cities and of the poorest classes in the heyday of the Industrial Revolution could be cited as glaring evidence of the overwhelming impact of the immediate environment. To Lombroso's conception of the born criminal the French "sociological" school, led by Lacassagne and supported by Manouvrier and Tarde, opposed that of the criminal milieu. The swollen cities could be seen as centres of criminal infection and imitation, breeding grounds of crime, or, as Mayhew so graphically described the process in the London slums, training schools for professional criminals. More broadly, the greater prizes offered by a more prosperous society, the lesser risks threatened by a more merciful penal system, the maxims and passions, the cupidity and cunning of a society and business community swayed by greed, all fostered crime. Stability, a fundamental condition of morality, was lacking. The individual could do little against the tide: it was "the great logic of society" which drove him on. It was Lacassagne who coined the now hackneyed phrase "societies have the criminals they deserve".

The sociological approach to the study of crime, unlike the positivist, emigrated very successfully from Europe to the United States, where it has prospered greatly during the present century, exporting its theories all over the world. Some sociologists would claim to be engaged in a disinterested search for truth, with no ulterior objectives. But criminologists, especially American criminologists, have seldom scrupled to deplore social evils they see as linked with crime, and to advocate changes in social arrangements and penal systems.

They have, nevertheless, shared the positivist failure to produce workable and effective solutions. Moreover, in so far as it tends to portray offenders as hapless victims of their environment, sociology invites the criticism that it is excusing crime. Though many criminologists retain a rather simple optimism about the possibility of engineering social change, the credibility of this is being increasingly called into question.

The Marxist creed

Parallel to the sociological school, but distinguished from it by its own radical political commitment, was what was known as the socialist school. Its leading exponents were to be found, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, scattered all over Europe. There were the Italians Filippo Turati and Napoleone Colajanni, the French Paul Lafargue who was a son-in-law of Karl Marx, the Belgian Hector Denis who reinterpreted Quetelet, the German Karl Kautsky, who was the leading theoretician of the German Socialist Party, and K. J. Rakowsky, who eventually became the first Soviet ambassador to France.

Not content with tracing links between crime and various evils that might be regarded as by-products of industrialization, they insisted that it was bound up with the whole of the capitalist system. It could be eradicated only by the eradication of capitalism. Capitalism deprived the workers of their rights, forced many to live in squalor. Crime was to be seen as the result of their degradation; sometimes as the embodiment of their protests.

The socialist school drew its inspiration from Karl Marx. Yet neither Marx nor Engels ever developed a systematic socialist theory of crime. For that we have to turn to William Adrian Bonger, a Dutch professor of sociology, a man of great learning and sensitivity and a militant socialist. His book *Economic Conditions and Crime*, published in English in 1916, brought Marxist principles fully to bear on the interpretation of crime in capitalist societies.

Step by step, he implicated the very spirit of capitalism in the genesis of criminality. Capitalism taught men to compete, to accumulate property at the expense of others, to exploit others. Crime involved the robbing or exploitation of other people. Under capitalism the economic mechanism itself, since it set the interests of all in eternal conflict, made men more egoistic, less compassionate and less concerned about the good opinion of others, and hence more capable of crime.

Capitalism also inevitably produced a class system, and that system added characteristic pressures towards crime at each level of society. For the wealthy capitalists there were avarice and ruthless competition. For the small bourgeoisie there was the precariousness of their position. For the proletariat, above all the lumpenproletariat, there were the injustices and degradations under which they lived. It was by these pressures that crime, as a mass phenomenon, was shaped.

If communism replaced capitalism all would change. The spirit of communism was a spirit of cooperation, of altruism, the very antithesis of crime. The practice of communism would abolish the corrupting privileges of the rich, the corrupting deprivations of the poor. It would care for those who were weakest in mind, morality or body, support them and save them from drifting into trouble. In proportion as communism gathered strength, crime would shrink and wither, starved at its very roots. The need for criminal laws and penal systems would virtually disappear.

The classicists saw the state as an impartial arbiter, maintaining a true balance between the rights of the wrongdoer and the wronged. The positivists saw the state as a paternal authority, capable of recognizing and forestalling danger, of restraining or restoring those who threatened the common good. The Marxists, however, challenged the capitalist state itself, seeing it as no more than a policeman, serving the interests of those powerful enough to control the means of production. To them criminal laws and penal systems, like all the other social institutions of capitalism, were instruments for maintaining the class structure. The state was not merely an accomplice in this immorality, but an active participant in that it held down the working classes and provoked them to crime. Changes in criminal law or in penal systems were beside the point. It was society itself that must be revolutionized.

In the days of Marx, even in those of Bonger, the socialist state was still a dream. It was possible for Marx and his followers, without fear of contrary evidence, to contrast the gross abuses of the capitalist systems under which they lived with the utopian virtues of the communist system for which they hoped. Now it is nearly sixty years since the communists took over Russia, thirty since they acquired control of East Germany and the other satellites. They have been able to change the economic basis of the state, but they have not yet eliminated crime.

Until very recently their reaction to this situation could only be described as embarrassment inadequately concealed by bluster. They claimed spectacular reductions in crime but refused to give any statistics to prove this. Now, from East Germany, for example, we are getting admissions that criminality continues, that in some industrial areas it may even be increasing. Of course explanations accompany the admission. Although the economic conditions of life have been changed it may take many decades to change psychological attitudes inherited from the bad old days of capitalism. The state itself may have erred in not giving sufficient weight to education and moral instruction (a curiously Victorian sentiment). The fully communist state has not yet been achieved. But for all this the socialists still twit the capitalist countries for having resigned themselves to crime, whereas they still maintain that socialism will eliminate it in the end.

Meanwhile, they have been obliged, by these very arguments, to go back to the study of the individual offender. Since the whole social environment has been transformed they must turn to individual differences to explain why some people still remain entrapped in the old bourgeois criminality. Since they are activist regimes, calling upon their citizens for ever greater efforts, they again have to admit that not all are equally committed, that ... depends, for better or ... on individual differences ... are compelled to assume that ... who prove incorrigible, ... opponents of the regime ... vagrants or other deviants, ... either mad or degenerate ... recently all this would have ... regarded as a dangerous d... from the doctrine that the ... of crime must be sought ... economic and social structures ... experience has inexorably b... them back to the individual ... sition as "an independent var... amongst the complex causes ... crime".

Radical criminology

The self-styled "new" or "...cal" criminologists, while ... stituting a "school" in the ... tional sense, or even a cohe... group, represent a current ... opinion, especially among ... young, in the United States ... England.

It is not, perhaps, unfair to ... that the views of some of them ... coloured by strong radical cu... ments, with elements of Mar... Trotskyism, Maoism, and ... ism. Many of them would challe... the bulk of existing criminal ... and correctional systems as si... shoring up a social structure ... ought to be brought down.

The new criminologists have ... tle time for the consen... approach to the study of crime ... its control. In their eyes it ... from a false assumption, in tak... for granted the existing crim... law. It compounds its error ... using the results and records ... law enforcement as the basis ... its research into the trends ... explanations of crime. Among ... key-words of radical criminol... are deviance, labelling, stigma, ... teraction. It rejects the study ... crime as a separate phenomen... preferring to see it as part of ... wider field of deviance, which ... cludes not only all departures fr... accepted social conventions ... what is usually classed as me... illness. Not even stuttering ... escaped attention.

Since what is regarded ... deviant varies from one place ... another, it is emphasized that ... definition depends not on the ... trinsic characteristics of the be... viour of the people concerned, ... on the interests and prejudices ... those with power to enforce th... standards. Similarly, whether ... particular action or person ... labelled as deviant or as crim... depends on the people—doc... teachers, social workers, po... courts—who are entrusted ... maintaining these standards. It ... misconception to assume tha... person so labelled is, in hi... sick or wrong, or necessarily ... need of treatment or correct... His behaviour should be in... preted in terms of what it me... to him, rather than dismissed ... wanton or meaningless by con... tional standards. Attempts ... repression are often self-defeati...

The very measures taken to c... trol or to change an offender ... confirm and extend his devia... The fact of being stigmatized ... alter the way he sees himself, ... way others see him and the way ... expects them to react to ... Rejection, or the anticipation ... rejection, may lead him to ... support among similar out... compensating by building up ... very deviant values it was hoped ... repress.

Both the distribution of crime ... officially recorded, and the cha... teristics of those labelled off... ers, largely reflect the preju... of those who enforce the law. ... upon the agents of control ... much as upon those stigmatized ... criminals, that research should ... focused. Above all it sh... be concerned with the interac... between the two sides.

The new criminologists w... probably concede that the cl... cists were on the right lines ... wanting to restrict to a minim... the scope of criminal law, the ... terference with individual lib... But they would also argue ... classicism did not go nearly ... enough, since it took for gra... the existing structure of soc... the inevitability of the corr... established criminal law. ... would certainly endorse the cl... cal concern to control ... enforcers, especially the po... together with the suspicion ... attempts to reform offenders ... the positivists, in their preo... pation with individual offend... with defining, segregating or ... inating the dangerous, they w... have very little time indeed ...

...ological attempts to measure, ...alyse and interpret links ...crime and other social ...ors would get short shrift, ...they have largely relied ...ficial statistics.

...the socialist approach the ...would obviously have some ...sympathy: at least it started ...assumption that the roots ...lay in the very nature and ...of capitalism. But again ...would contend it did not go ...far enough: it still saw the ...and delinquencies of the ...ridden as maladies and ...ments, as passive symp... of the degradation imposed ...them more often than as ...protests against it. Nor ...the new criminologists stop ...criticism of capitalist atti... to crime. The treatment of ...deviants as criminal in ...socialist countries could be ...the exact opposite of the ...of society they would advo... They, too, have their utopian ...of a society in which there ...need of the criminal law. ...would not be because all ...united in a single consensus. ...ll be achieved in a pluralis... ety, in which many kinds of ...are now prohibited would be ...fair play.

...radical criminologists have ...points. They have stressed ...the criminal law and its enfor... can be used destructively ...oppressively by ruling cliques. ...have been among the fore... in portraying its over-exten... ways that can be damaging ...self-defeating. They have ...sised the significance of the ...offender's own view of his crimes ...the measures taken to check ...had they have drawn atten... the dangers of allowing cri... to serve as a mere prop ...ruling systems. In all these ...they have helped to ...blinkers, to widen our out... attitudes.

...fortunately they seem to have ...blinkers of their own. They ...distorted and diminished the ...of their message by their ...exaggerations. They have felt ...not merely to question but ...contradict all that has gone ...They have talked as though ...traditional criminologists were ...of the limitations of crimi... statistics, and as though the ...were rendered completely ...by those limitations. They ...overstated the heterogeneity ...of values, ignoring the large ...of consensus, even among ...accused, in condemning the theft and violence that make up the bulk of traditional crime. They have postulated an irreconcilable opposition between "law and order" on the one hand and "human rights" on the other, blinding themselves to the genuine functions of law, police and courts in safeguarding people's rights. In their anxiety to interpret crime simply as part of the whole spectrum of deviance they have blurred important distinctions, resorted to misleading analogies. And they have indulged in exaggerated hopes of human nature, been over-optimistic about what society will tolerate, either now or in the future.

Radical criminology has not been alone in going to extremes. All new movements, in their first flush of enthusiasm and in their determination to achieve the maximum impact, begin by denying the achievements, and reversing the values and emphases, of their predecessors. All attitudes towards crime have their periods of challenge and eclipse. Yet they tend to persist, sometimes reappearing in fresh guises, under new names. Often they have to learn to coexist within a single system. They are perforce modified by experience, by mutual influences and antagonisms, and by the changing climate of the times. Fundamental criticism of the new criminologists must, perhaps, be left to their successors.

* * *

One attitude to crime has always existed, not awaiting any ideological or scientific backing. In all ages it has widely been taken for granted that crime must be kept down by sheer severity, if not outright terror. This attitude, even in its extreme form, is by no means dead. Some of us have seen it revived in the civilized heart of Europe during our own lifetimes. The Nazi regime in Germany regarded crime simply as expressing the antisocial will of an individual in revolt against the laws of his community. That will had to be broken or annihilated by intimidation, retribution or elimination. The limits of what was counted criminal were at once vague and perpetually extending. Respect for individual rights was rejected as decadent, since the highest duty of everyone must be to efface himself before the state and its leader. As Donnedieu de Vabres expressed it:

> We see here the close correlation, the inevitable correspondence, of these two activities of government: its general policy and its penal policy, the first giving impulse and direction to the second.

What was true of Nazi Germany was true also of Fascist Italy, though it was all on a much smaller scale: Hitler had his concentration camps for millions, whereas Mussolini was content with one small island. But the inexorable attitude to those suspected of crime or political dissidence was the same under both regimes.

Today a ruthlessly punitive attitude is still to be found in many parts of the world. If anything it has been gaining ground. Some countries, though well on the threshold of development in other respects, remain medieval in their attitudes to crime and punishment. In others terror and counter-terror, linked with political turmoil, have become the order of the day. In yet others there is a struggle to maintain a precarious stability by using the machinery of criminal law to hold down oppressed majorities. Then there are the monolithic regimes which justify relentless measures against dissidents as an essential stage in ultimate ideological fulfilment. And there are others which have escaped the controls of colonialism only to impose new tyrannies. And there are countries where enforcement of the law, in all its stages, has been allowed to stagnate, become corrupt and oppressive, less through deliberate intent than through sheer poverty, weakness and neglect.

Liberal, open and prosperous societies are the first to condemn arbitrary attitudes and actions elsewhere. Yet some elements of these attitudes command a solid following in public opinion even there. That crime is largely inevitable, and to some extent even a healthy phenomenon, was a tenet expounded by Emile Durkheim; but it is a tenet which is hardly likely to impress the mass of mankind. In response to perpetually rising crime and the failure of criminal justice to bring it under control, there are calls for a freer hand for those who enforce the law and a tightening of the screw throughout the penal system.

The tough approach to the control of crime has its own ideological vitality. It aims to support a regime, to preserve a set of values, to hold a community together and maintain order within it. Yet it exacts a very high price not only from those suspected or convicted of crime but from the whole society.

...tervention and integrity

...Z. Bankowski

...TH VALLANCE (Editor): ...le, Society and Self-Destruc-...
...Allen and Unwin. £4.20.

...ate, *Society and Self-destruc-...* ...ises from a series of ...run by the Acton Society ...the adequacy of J. S. ...criterion for state interven... the activity of the individ... criterion "still remains at ...of the liberal view of the ...and is, as Mill said, that ...only purpose for which ...can rightfully be exercised ...member of a civilized ...against his will, is to ...harm to others. His own ...either physical or moral is ...sufficient warrant. . . . Over ...over his own body and ...individual is sovereign."

...editor, Elizabeth Vallance, ...the book is something more ...writings of a group of ...locked in the problems of ...own discipline and so con... nothing. This is so, ...only for two reasons. ...debate does not get much ...an exposition of the prob... seen by the various dis... it is not an original work ...this "political language" ...the editor says all contribu... to be translated into—is ...granted. In the conclu... the book, Dr Vallance talks ...this problem of "trans... is also the problem of poli... interventions of experts ...decision-making have to be ...into a political language ...it is to decide priorities. ...is not a "synthetic" ...but has its own form of life, priorities and values; the description, however, neatly fits the job of another "expert"—he who knows about, and has the job of running, society. Thus it is not surprising that the final section of the book is written by one of these experts—David Steel, a politician. But this cannot really be the political language that Dr Vallance has in mind. For what is important is not a crude and unexplained Wittgensteinian notion of "form of life" but rather an ideology that can interpret, rightly or wrongly, people's activities in society. It is this "political language" that is left unexplained. What is important is not what this language has to say, but what questions the language sees as important.

The starting-point of this book—and of this ideology—is that interference in the "individual" is problematic. The answer is not, as Mill himself saw, total withdrawal for the individual. That would be the path to a form of anarchism where each man is sufficient unto himself. For Mill the answer was limited state interference, accepting that this was the best alternative to an anarchistic situation which would not work. Put this way, then, the fundamental objections against Mill are not, as Dr Vallance claims, that the individual is formed to some extent by society and that the notion of private morality can only be understood within a social context. Mill understood this well; it is just that his vision of the public society was, as John Charvet in his essay demonstrates, rather odd. The objection that carries most weight is that the limits of intervention can change depending on what are seen as the facts of the matter. Thus this form of liberalism can justify everything or virtually nothing.

It is within these parameters that Dr Vallance sets the scope of the book. The questions that are asked are the practical and theoretical ones of a liberal society. We are asked: How far have the empirical circumstances changed? What are the unintended consequences of social action? What relationship does the individual have to society? How can we organize our interference to make it better and more caring? The paradox is that a society based on this sort of atomized individualism cannot function as a society which lets the individual fulfil himself because he will, by and large, fall by the wayside. Mill recognized this by not counting education, for example, as "interference" and more modern writers, as this book shows, have recognized it by wanting to count even more activities as not "interference". But every intervention is somehow seen as an infringement on the person's right to be himself, and, in an uncaring society, to self-destruct. Thus the reason for Mill's problem is the society that we have. Mr Steel himself senses this when he writes: "I preferred to call for more community concern rather than increased state intervention." Though he goes on to dress this up in the liberal rhetoric of the caring society, the germ of truth in what he says is that, in a society with a socialized means of production (his community concern), intervention will not be the sort of problem that it was for Mill. In a society where men control their own lives in this socialized way, they will be able to fulfil themselves individually and an atomic individual integrity will not stand in the way.

The book, then, does not make any contributions to this fundamental ideological debate, but it does explicate, at times very elegantly, the current liberal position. As such it is well suited for the audience at which it is aimed; namely social workers, and students in the social policy field.

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AP

Power and the Panopticon

By Colin Lucas

MICHEL FOUCAULT:
Surveiller et punir
Naissance de la prison
318pp. Paris: Gallimard. 59fr.

Lecture on the evils of drink at Fresnes Prison: from Surveiller et punir.

No reader acquainted with Michel Foucault's previous work will be disappointed in his latest book. It is as exciting and challenging as anything he has written, even though its matter is at first glance more concretely historical, more accessible than that of some of his other books. Although Foucault himself would surely reject such distinctions, it appears to the layman to belong more to the style of *A History of Madness* and *The Birth of Clinical Medicine* than to that of his *Words and Things* or *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. This book displays once again all the distinctive Foucault traits—a remarkable use of images; an acute sense of paradox and ambiguity; a fondness for inversion; a relentless pursuit of the multiplicity of human experience; such compelling lucidity in critical passages that the reader cannot resist persuasion; and yet exasperating withdrawals into a vocabulary hermetic to the uninitiated, together with moments of undeniable self-indulgence.

Certainly, on a first level, *Surveiller et punir* is a book of historical analysis. It is so in the sense that it addresses itself to the problem of changes in the French penal system, predominantly between 1750 and 1850. It is so also in the sense that Foucault seems concerned to show that man has no transcendent, timeless identity, but that he is wholly fashioned by his time, place and society, that he is the object of a process of creation within his historical moment.

But this is also a text of philosophy. It belongs with those other of Foucault's writings in which he strives towards a new epistemology founded upon a unique definition of discourse and a particular perception of the nature of knowledge. Beyond that, he has also written a political pamphlet. For him, historical analysis properly participates in contemporary political struggle. One objective of *Surveiller et punir* in a sense is to reveal the power strategy of the ruling classes by unmasking its mechanism.

Many of the assumptions and implications of the book must necessarily pass by a historian formed in the Ango-Saxon humanist, anthropologistic tradition, particularly when he has no more than a cursory grounding in post-Kantian philosophy. Indeed, it is perhaps an illustration of the validity of Foucault's conception of discourse that it should be so impenetrable to someone formed in the Anglo-Saxon mould and at the same time so accessible (though not necessarily convincing) to those trained in the French tradition; and that, moreover, the French should find our difficulty so incomprehensible.

Surveiller et punir is constructed basically out of two converging themes: the punishment of crime and the growth of discipline. In Ancien Régime France, imprisonment was very much the exception in the penal system. Prisons were used primarily to secure accused persons. Punishment was still exercised in medieval patterns. Its object was the body of the criminal, whether through the elaborate forms of execution or through the use of branding, whipping, the pillory, the galleys, etc. Lesser punishments were more usually expressed in terms of compensation, public recognition of and penitence for crimes, and so on.

This preoccupation of justice with the body of the criminal launches Foucault into an elaborate exploration of the ambiguity of the *supplice*. The *supplice* is more than just capital punishment; it is that form of execution which involves a protracted physical assault upon the body of the condemned. Execution was a ritual with definite meanings. Punishment fitted the crime only in the sense that it reproduced the crime—cutting off the hand that did the deed, executing with the very weapon the criminal used, some association of the ritual with the site of the crime, and so on. The *supplice* had to be both atrocious and public. Execution was an act of sovereignty in that all crime was seen as an attack on the person/sovereignty of the monarch. The criminal had to reenact the crime and to be seen to be implacably crushed by the overwhelming power of the sovereign. The population had to be present (and to be further reminded by the display of severed heads and limbs), for this was the exemplary purpose of punishment. Punishment implied not atonement, but the annulment of the crime through the reassertion of sovereignty.

The eighteenth-century revolt against these practices was not, according to Foucault, the product of some humanitarian ideal. It was, first, part of the general protest against the arbitrary despotism of the monarchy. The power thus displayed was too tyrannical, too unshared by the social elite. Secondly, the system was inefficient. There was an extraordinary ambiguity in the relationship between the condemned man and the public, for whom the victim easily became a hero. His crime could in a sense be validated rather than annulled and illegality could be encouraged, at least in the crowd's capacity to intervene in executions or the departure of the convict chain.

The French revolutionaries sought to establish a system based on new assumptions. The criminal was to be treated as a person to be reinstated in the social contract that his crime had broken. Punishment was a temporary removal of rights and an atonement through the performance of tasks directly related to the nature of the crime. It was felt that the corrective and deterrent purposes of punishment were best attained by demonstrating to the criminal and to the potential criminal without unnecessary excess that the disadvantage of a crime just outweighed its advantages. Hence, it was important that punishment should take place visibly within the everyday life of the community. This is what Foucault calls a system of representation—the representation to the criminal and the community of the unfavourable balance of personal advantage-disadvantage.

The central paradox that Foucault sees is that this ambition should have led within a decade to a prison system—that is to say, to a system hidden away from the public gaze, based on a uniform punishment by the deprivation of liberty and fitting the crime only in the various lengths of detention and in the regime of prison life.

It can hardly be said that Foucault seeks to explain this development. Rather, he associates it with another phenomenon—the growth of discipline, whose appearance during the eighteenth century he illustrates from army, school and hospital regulations. He characterizes discipline as the process whereby authority does not merely define the space-time within which an action takes place but takes charge of the action itself by prescribing how it is to be done. It involves therefore taking over to a greater or lesser extent the individual's use of time. It involves requiring of him not simply that a task should be accomplished but that it should be accomplished in a particular way. This in turn leads to a process of training (as shown by army manuals and school regulations) by which an individual may learn a skill through the repetition of its elements carefully decomposed into a progression of growing complexity.

The individual is taught behaviour by being trained to behave within a norm rather than by being brutally sanctioned when he steps outside the space of that norm. Correction of deviance operates within the training process rather than as a simple repressive mechanism. The individual must be observed and the training fitted to him individually. Therefore, discipline implies the rapid development of a new area of knowledge: the human mind and how to act upon it. In sum, it leads to the fashioning of the individual to fit a norm.

Foucault believes that the modern prison was born of the association of the old and the new. From the Ancien Régime, it retains the body as the object of punishment through the physical constraint of imprisonment. From the revolutionaries, it inherits the emphasis on a process of correction through action upon the mind of the individual criminal. Discipline, as defined here, has become the medium of correction. Thus, says Foucault in one of his neat inversions, the soul has become the prison of the body. But this situation in fact engendered a withdrawal of justice from punishment. The judge can only give a statutory penalty to a criminal act, but the process of correction demands an and an ever-adjustable the individual.

Thus, within the prison the individual becomes the object whole structure of knowledge defines him and is applied through discipline. The great central image which Foucault project his analysis is that of Bentham's Panopticon, the ideal school where every gesture of isolated prisoner-pupil can be ved and corrected by an supervisor.

But there is another aspect Foucault's concept of discip value structure is inherent since the skills that it (whether technical skills as school or general skills of behaviour) are those defin socially useful. Therefore, it stitutes the central mechanism implementation of power: it is, Foucault, the "microphysic power. The norms that it val are those of the bourgeoisie the organization of factory and the illegality that it ide is that behaviour deemed thre ing to bourgeois domination. exists, therefore, a power-know structure which defines and creates (or re-creates in the ca prison) the individual.

There are grey areas in this. Many are likely to be unhappy for example, the assumption hind Foucault's conception of po which he appears to equate with social oppression. Simi his vision of all-pervading disc creating the individual doe really take account of the co phenomenon of resistance to pline. The prison has too formal constraints (as inde madhouses and hospitals) to pr an adequate focus for this ki argument. One suspects tha of the limits on this "microphy of power is what the individual tolerate. To say, then, that individual is defined by a po knowledge structure instrum by discipline requires more el tion, at least to show why the of tolerance are where they a

From a more classically his point of view, one may be dist by the slimness of Foucault's explanation of these changes. is particularly true of the gr of discipline in the eighteenth tury, for his examples are d from the essentially non-bo institutions of the royal army, the church schools. Of co Foucault would probably argue he does not need to explain His conception of the episte configurations of knowledge ob specific structural laws im when applied to history, su rupture and enigmatic change the very nature of human ex ence.

Beyond all this, how Foucault is clearly caught wit self-sealing argument which questions, in his own terms, his relationship to his own course. Of course, this situat not unique to him, nor inde it one with which he would sarily be unhappy. For all emphasis on the power-know structure as an instrument of geois domination, he is really interested in the mechanis power, in the action of disc than he is in the beneficiari power. But this system double import, for it also d the individuals who rule. Panopticon, it is not only the vised who is defined in rela the supervisor. The supervis himself defined and localised central tower and is himself vised by those who, accordi Bentham, can and should co see. More, supervisor and vised are locked into a mu defining relationship outsid which neither has the same ide There is a sense in which Fou seems to see the whole of s as a vast Panopticon. The p knowledge structure would see be fundamentally independen neither controlled by nor ex the service of the ruling cl The logic of Foucault's may be that the power-know structure is in itself the sour social oppression.

But, perhaps it is characte of an Anglo-Saxon historian th would see a profound stra anarchism in Michel Foucault

Helpers and helpees

By Gordon Trasler

BOSFORD
OTT MOSS (Editors):
bling Walls
and Counselling of Pri-
University of Illinois Press
195

ation that prison can seldom, if ever, reform criminals upon the public consciousness decade or so ago. Criminologists still arguing about what it makes penal institutions so —and likely, indeed, to criminality rather than to it. It is odd, therefore, to a new book that is full enthusiasm for new modes of that can be applied the walls of a secure prison. Bosford and C. Scott Moss, have edited *The Crumbling* psychologists working in Federal Correctional Institution Lompoc in southern California, a prison for young adult offenders. The book is a collection of essays, some with comments by the editors, contributions by the warden, psychiatrists, ogists and counsellors at a "line" (discipline) and an ex-inmate. The editors have not attempted to impose a style, and so the book (which is enlivened by bursts of hyperbole and sporadic outbreaks of jaw-breaking jargon) vividly conveys the enthusiasm, the shrewdness and the innocence of this lively team of men and women. The effect is rather like listening to an informal discussion between colleagues, and a great deal more illuminating than the studied understatement that has become the conventional style of scientific symposia.

Dr Moss was appointed to head the new Human Resources Center at Lompoc early in 1970. There had been psychologists and a psychiatrist there for some years, but their duties were strictly clinical, in the traditional sense of the term; they devoted their energies to the diagnosis and treatment of psychiatric illness and personality disorders in prisoners who needed this specialist help, much as the dentist concentrated upon carious teeth. They were part of the medical team, providing the kind of service that they might have given in a college or a military unit—or, for that matter, in the community. The new scheme brought them out of the hospital and into an alliance with those responsible for training, "case management", education and social work. They became heavily involved in the everyday activities of the institution, practising not clinical psychology, but community psychology—"a discipline which addresses itself to pressing social problems for which at this time adequate solutions do not exist", as the editors engagingly describe it.

The main result of these changes was the development of training courses in leadership and in various forms of "counselling", intended to provide inmates with help in recognizing and rectifying their problems in getting on with others, in planning their own affairs, and (more generally) in living more satisfying lives within the institution—and, presumably, eventually in their native surroundings. There is much emphasis, in the account of these developments, upon the comradely relationship between "helper" and "helpee", in contrast to the authoritarian nature of transactions between doctor and patient in traditional psychotherapy. The "helpers" in the counselling programme at Lompoc were usually case-management staff, line officers and prisoners, trained for the task by psychologists and graduate students from the University of California at Santa Barbara.

But there were genuine innovations. Albert G. Thomas describes the introduction of the Carkhuff Training Program, which began when Charles M. Montgomery, then training officer at Lompoc, travelled to Springfield in Massachusetts to participate in "a thirty-day total life experience, conducted by Robert R Carkhuff, PhD", and returned to train others in the Carkhuff method—compressing their total life experience into forty hours instead of the usual 240 in deference to the staffing problems of the institution. Despite this modification, Mr Thomas is able to assure the reader that "Carkhuff training could be the single most meaningful training experience ever offered to staff or inmate personnel". No one could accuse Dr Moss's team of diffidence.

Since the editors take so much trouble, in the early part of the book, to argue the superior merits of the "community psychology" approach against the methods of conventional psychotherapy, it is something of a surprise to find that seven of the sixteen chapters are devoted to individual case-studies in the treatment of such familiar clinical problems as stuttering, exhibitionism, sexual inadequacy and schizophrenic behaviour. But if the nosology is traditional, methods of treatment are not; the emphasis is squarely and uncompromisingly upon behaviour therapy (conditioning strategies). The authors' enthusiasm for these techniques is infectious, but sometimes incautious: "Although treatment did not result in a 'cure' . . . it did result in a demonstration of the effectiveness of a variety of behavioural techniques", Dr Moss says of a singularly unconvincing account of attempts to treat an exhibitionist by "thought-stopping" and other exotic methods. The procedures were fascinating, but it dampens one's enthusiasm to discover that they did not actually work.

It is remarkable that the authors of this book show no sign of interest in whether these heroic (and expensive) endeavours will have any effect on the probability of being convicted again after being discharged from Lompoc. There are no figures; their absence is not explained. Making prisons more tolerable is a worthwhile activity, but there is, unfortunately, no reason to suppose that a happy person is more likely to be successful (in the "correctional" sense) than an unhappy one. On the authors' own arguments, it is very improbable that improvements in social behaviour that have been achieved in prison will persist when the man returns to his home surroundings. Criminal behaviour (the editors are fond of pointing out) is learnt in the same way as other kinds of behaviour, and *maintained by its consequences*. If, in the past, crime has been part of a viable adaptation to the individual's particular social predicament, one can confidently predict that he will resort to it again unless there has been some change in his circumstances—as the jargon has it, a change in the immediate contingencies which control his behaviour.

"We are under no delusion that we have taken a traditional prison and magically transformed it into an open system, but we do think that we have taken several giant strides in that direction", the editors claim. It is hard to share their confidence. Though one cannot help being impressed by the energy and enthusiasm that have gone into their programme, it is noticeable that all of its components—transactional analysis, peer counselling, team planning, behaviour therapy—have been attempted elsewhere. None of these things has had any enduring effect on the corrective efficiency of the closed penal institution, which remains a sterile enclave, an irrelevance in the task of dealing with offenders. Warden Frank Kenton puts the matter well in the opening chapter:

> It is completely unrealistic to isolate these individuals from the real world and then to expect them upon release to become useful citizens. By restricting the individual exclusively to the prison setting, we are helping him to learn how to live within the prison setting, not how to live in the real world outside.

If "transforming a prison into an open system" means anything, it surely involves making a breach in the wall which separates the prisoner from the society in which he has, eventually, to make his way. What has happened at Lompoc is, sadly, just a very small step in that direction.

e rehabilitative ideal

aham Zellick

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University of Chicago
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ris has that rare capacity es us into thought on prob ately in need of imagination yet apparently de ny solution. He did it with Gordon Hawkins) five in *The Honest Politician's Crime Control*, taking on able a problem as any the United States. Hav ibed "a cure for crime", ide was immodestly styled ers, Professor Morris now is a theme then discussed fully than in the lectures ake up this essay on prison *The Future of Imprison*-

Morris is an unashamed in prisons. They have, he considerable future which ional analysis and care ing, the more so since so conspicuously failed. He offers us, therefore, ples both for guiding the f imprisonment and for de who should find himself ies.

y coercion is destined to central thesis, accordingly, that all aspects of treat wholly voluntary. Facili nage must be substituted ced cure, as the latter not es human rights but also ically unsound. The ortho ment model which insists ulating the inmate what own views on the subject rofessor Morris's opinion, discredited, because prison marily for treatment but ation and deterrence. He ecedes his punitive ap penology. But rehabilita is to be removed from the ter, for Professor Morris is hat every opportunity for and reform should be ailable to the inmate who wishes to take advantage abilitation is thus turned of the avowed purposes ent to a mere collateral but it loses no signifi that account. The Morris ative "rehabilitation of the ive ideal"—is that the of the notion of rehabili this way will render the the offender more likely onduct to a more just

To ensure the truly voluntary nature of the treatment opportunities provided, once the coerced cure has been rejected, Professor Morris proposes the second of his two principles for guiding the future of imprisonment. At present, parole decisions seek to predict the prisoner's suitability for release, judged by a variety of factors, but focusing chiefly on his behaviour and attitudes while incarcerated. He is assessed for freedom in conditions of captivity. The result is that "the parole discretion as it is at present exercised is in all instances an exercise in injustice". So long as the inmate's release date is determined by reference to his actions in prison, every facility for rehabilitation is hopelessly vitiated by tacit coercion.

Escape from this dilemma is possible, not only by a complete abandonment of the parole system, with fixed sentences and immutable release dates, as some are now suggesting, but preferably by the substitution of graduated *testing* of fitness for freedom for the present *prediction* of future behaviour. The inmate's parole date should accordingly be set within the first few weeks of his sentence.

He would also be given some idea of when he would be entitled to his first excursion beyond the prison perimeter, his first home leave, and eventually his right to work release and the pre-release hostel scheme. Only if he performed satisfactorily while outside the prison would he qualify for an extended leave, and his parole date remain undisturbed. Instead of the inmate's capacity for lawful behaviour being assessed only on the basis of his record and his behaviour in prison, it would be tested in the outside world under conditions of freedom. No prediction would be hazarded. Behaviour in prison would be relevant only in cases of serious indiscipline resulting, after a formal hearing, in loss of remission.

In this move from prediction to testing, Professor Morris has shaped what he describes as an individual treatment model without abuse of power, since refusal to undergo any treatment could have no bearing on parole. Though addressing the situation in the United States, this discussion is remarkably apt in Britain, where the parole system is generating widespread feelings of unease among prisoners and penologists. Moreover, opportunities for prisoners here to leave the jail are pathetically inadequate. In Canada and Scandinavia it has been shown that the dangers are exaggerated and the advantages real. In Britain, the famous Myra Hindley walk reminds us of the chronic sensitivity of our prison authorities, as well as the unhappy fact that the British popular press is as great an impediment to genuine penal reform as any.

Professor Morris then develops his principles for determining who should be in prison. With the English prison population reaching crisis proportions, a sudden urgency has been injected into the casual and continuing debate about whom we should send to prison and for how long. How far conceptual propositions on sentencing will influence judicial behaviour and alter sentencing practice presents a fascinating jurisprudential problem, but Professor Morris is not indulging in scholarly abstractions. He hopes for an impact on American prisons, and his principles — in particular his wise warning on the use of dangerousness as a criterion for determining the appropriateness and length of imprisonment — warrant careful study.

In the final chapter these various principles are synthesized into a blueprint for a model maximum security institution to house 200 repetitively violent offenders, a plan formulated in conjunction with the Illinois Department of Corrections. Much of this is trite or merely reiterates the earlier points, but the institution so described would, notwithstanding these strictures, prove an interesting experiment. The meticulous evaluation procedures to be employed make the proposal a very attractive one. Who knows: perhaps one day prisons *will* work?

Two of the smaller points which Professor Morris mentions deserve consideration in this country. First is the suggestion that 40 to 50 per cent of the prison staff, including the uniformed guards, should be women. The second is the deliberate policy of recruiting ex-convicts into the prison service. That neither idea will receive a warm reception in the Home Office—witness, for example, the Prison Officers' Association's enraged reaction when a former inmate entered a prison in his capacity as a NACRO regional organizer, despite the absence of any convictions over several years, the acquisition of a Cambridge degree, and a growing reputation as an author and commentator on penal affairs—is all the more reason for treating them seriously.

Professor Morris may not have given us a prescription of universal and enduring application, but he has caused us to think about issues more searchingly; and he has supplied some concrete suggestions in an area where sound and original policies are seriously wanting.

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TLS Commentary

Sherlock and after

The criminology number of the *TLS* seems the right place to scatter clues about an international congress of an unusual kind; this is the first Crime Writers International Congress, hosted by the British Crime Writers Association, which will be held at the Piccadilly Hotel, London W1, from October 5 to October 8. Sir Robert Mark, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, will be the principal guest speaker at the opening dinner, and events will range from the sober to the spooky to the frankly "professional" (top literary agents talking about "the markets"). Assembled crime writers will hear H. J. Eysenck on "Crime and Personality"; they will hear all about the Mrs McKay kidnapping from the officer in charge of the case; and lock and lockpicking, firearms, police dogs (with demonstrations) and international crime are among the more serious topics due to be discussed.

But when two or three score crime writers are gathered together anything could happen. Let us hope no unlucky sleuth will go hungry as a result of "Cluedo—'The Great Detective' Lunch" to be held on October 6. And what about the pleasure-boat trip up river to Westminster, then down to Greenwich? Will anything or anyone be found to be missing after the talk on "river crime" that accompanies the buffet lunch on board? That same evening, the venue is sophisticated Martini Terrace, where courageous participants can meet "guests"—unnamed—"of particular interest to crime writers". With all this real-life drama one will hardly need the optional extra of "an afternoon visit to a play of crime interest". The programme also offers unspecified items "of a less technical nature" as alternatives to some of the sessions—a healthy game of Murder all over the darkened Piccadilly Hotel, one might suggest, would relieve some of the tensions.

The climax, however (and, artistically, the best occasion for the real-life crime that we will all have been waiting for), has the makings of a major literary set-piece in the great tradition: the congress ends with a gala dinner held, most imaginatively, at the Café Royal (dinner jackets optional). If all the participants attend, it promises to be a large and animated gathering. It is a very international congress. Whose name will be splashed across the headlines the next day? The Scandinavians are particularly well represented; Mr K. Wig (from Norway) sounds as though he might be a man with something on his mind. From France, all on her own, comes Miss A. Roudybush. She may or may not hit it off with a certain Mr Randi from Denmark. There are also the two mysterious Swedes, Miss Jenny and Miss Marie Berthelius. From America, Mr and Mrs Van Der Boom will add tone to the proceedings.

It is not difficult to construct all sorts of fantasy scenarios from the names of the distinguished participants; for in all truth neither Eric Ambler nor Stanley Ellin, Dick Francis, Christianna Brand (all of whom will be present) or any of the rest of them could have assembled a better cast in a more promising context. No stately homes, admittedly, and no stately Holmes; but we have to move with the times—or rather with the *News of the World*, whose representative Trevor Kempson will be attending the congress to give a talk on investigatory crime reporting. He may find himself unexpectedly with the scoop of the year. Now read on.

Pronounced success

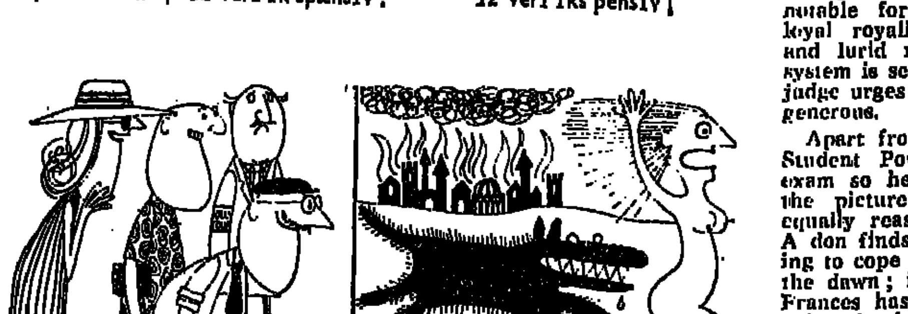
The terrors of English pronunciation ought to grow a little less daunting for foreigners after this week, which sees the appearance of a new edition of *English Pronunciation Illustrated* by John Trim with drawings by Peter Kneebone (Cambridge University Press, 96pp, paperback, £1). There is no technical talk about fricatives and plosive clusters here: we plunge straight into life itself, or at any rate life as arranged by Trim and illustrated by Kneebone.

One striking feature, as Mr Trim explains in his preface, is that "special emphasis has been placed on minimal contrasts". And certainly foreign students once they have read the book will be unlikely to strain at a gnat with a net, or carry curls to Newcastle, or fall victim to the idea that a[…] would loves a larva. Nor are the[y] likely to go to the local film […] under the impression that it […] showing "The Birth of an Ass[…]" They will quickly learn to d[…] between a zoolog[…] (wonders about bugs) and […] botanist (wanders about b[…]) and they are left in no doubt th[…] walking off with poise is a […] different matter—except perha[…] among some of their […] friends—from walking off w[…] pies.

What one perhaps admires […] about the book's ingenuity is t[…] skill with which small dramas a[…] conjured out of a minimal numbe[…] of phonemes. The hero's girl frie[…] in Saul Bellow's latest novel has […] nice line in close-packed ima[…] (e g, of Chicago—"Without O'H[…] it's sheer despair"), but she seem[…] positively wordy by compari[…] with Messrs Trim and Kneebone […] who are able to condense a Fe[…]deauesque plot into a few syllable[…] or juxtapose two contrasting lif[…] styles by shifting a single sou[…]. And as the book progresses th[…] plots thicken, from the simple con[…]frontation between a Rajah an[…] Roger to the dubious designs whi[…] Clive (who climbs high spires a[…] night) has on Dinah (quite nice […] but frightfully shy) when he asks […] her to dinner (he tries to find a […] fine white wine).

Here and there the foreig[…] reader might be forgiven for con[…]cluding that we are groaning under […] the yoke of a decadent aristocracy. A foolish bookish duke is too fo[…] of good food to move a foot; a[…] the theatre, a dreary peer sneers […] the grand tier (and at a perfor[…]mance of *King Lear*, too). At times […] it all begins to sound like th[…] dreadful dream of Deirdre, th[…] dowdy daughter of the Duke o[…] Dundas. But by and large w[…] emerge as a quaint and lovable lo[…] notable for our hacking jackets, […] loyal royalists, old coastal boa[…] and lurid murals. And our legal […] system is second to none: the aged […] judge urges the jury to be just bo[…] generous.

Apart from one brief display o[…] Student Power (David failed hi[…] exam so he felled the examiner) […] the picture of academic life […] equally reassuring and traditiona[…]. A don finds himself variously ha[…]ing to cope with a dun, a darn an[…] the dawn; if Francis has a third […] Frances has a First. And once o[…] twice the book betrays its specifi[…]cally Cambridge origins. True, it […] Hoyle who toils with the soil ca[…] hardly be the astronomer (a[…] more than the Norman Brown wh[…] signs his name again and agai[…] with a fine line pen is likely to b[…] the author of *Life Against Death*. But one seems to detect a whiff o[…] Cambridge Humanism in the rathe[…] startling Voltairean juxtapositio[…] of people praying and asses bray[…]ing, while there can be no doub[…] whatever about the sense of Ea[…] Anglian ennui compressed into th[…] glimpse of an endless fence ru[…]ning across the endless fens—a[…] ennui which this entertaining boo[…] must already have done a goo[…] deal to dispel.



Secret harmonies

Fanciers of the exotic, as well as more serious students of comparative religion or musicology, must not miss the performances of esoteric tantric Buddhist rituals by lamas of the Gyuto College for Upper Tantric Scholarship, organized by the London Music Digest at St John's, Smith Square, until September 28.

In a setting of Corinthian white strangely at odds with the saffron robes and rich vestures, one may listen to some of the most extraordinary sounds to issue from human throats: sounds that one had somehow always assumed were produced by twenty-foot long Himalayan alpenhorns, or brazen serpents. But there squat a dozen monks like so many human bagpipes and the hall is seized with seismic sonorities and drones of incredible resonance and duration.

Long brazen horns, brightly painted drums and howling shawms are in fact used in the astonishing Mahakala ceremony, an invocation to a fearful deity "who is in reality an aspect of Chenrezig, the deity of Compassion". This introduced some welcome variety, for the chants do bear a close family resemblance, even when their content is as distinct as the mandala of the wrathful Manjusri on the one hand, or a list of the qualities required of a monk on the other; from time to time, however, an acolyte handed out scarves, pots of water, handfuls of rice or quite unidentifiable objects.

The explanatory programme and the commentator showed a certain defensiveness about the public performance of esoteric rituals whose secret has long been jealously kept. The explanation offered is that we see only the external forms: the secret part remains secret; this, if inscrutable, is undeniable, but there has certainly been a shift in attitude—"we live in times of confusion". It was the monks' compassion to all sentient beings which led them to perform, and to permit our presence. In one ceremony, moreover, they made offerings to local deities ("e g, the protectors of the City of London").

At the end of the ceremonies Tara Tulku, 115th abbot of the College (now in exile in Bomdila, India), gave a brief sermon: it was hard to collate the genial and dramatic gestures that accompanied the Tibetan phrases with the bromidic sentiments that issued from the interpreter; but then, as the Dalai Lama was quoted as saying, "Tantra is very profound; basically it is connected with the mind".

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All's well that ends well

By Matthew Hodgart

RODWAY:
Comedy
and Nature from Chaucer
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GUREWITCH:
Second Vision
Cornell University Press.

[…] would write a book about […] unless he believed in the […] of the literary genres, […] Platonic forms or as ana[…] of the biological species. […]le, in fact, seem to believe […] kinds of genres, since the […] of taxonomizing is deeply […] human nature. The first […] Adam did was to name […]asts, but he must first have […] them; and primitive man, […]ness reminds us, is an […] economist, knowing the […] properties of thousands […] and fungi—if he were not […], he would be poisoned. […] to classify every form of […] that falls within our ex[…], however naively, also […] be quite natural. This is […] because we don't like to […] expectations about what […]ing to hear or read; like […] I heard before a per[…] of *Hedda Gabler* asking […]mme-seller if it was going […] sad play. That implies a […]-term taxonomy, as in Walpole's: "Life is a […] to those that think, a […] to those that feel." Of […] all feel that we can do […]an that, and even primi[…] has a more elaborate […] of literature with its […] song, music and dance. […]idely believed that there […] appropriate to each […], such as prayer, spell, […], legend and folk tale; […], it does seem possible […] many kinds of primi[…] according to occasion and […]. This primitive notion […], which involved using […] style for each kind of […], persisted into classical […] according to classical theory, […] supposed to follow the […] each genre, as laid down […]: if you wanted to write […], you had to copy the […] of Menander, Plautus […]ence. The strict theory of […] was revived again at […]aissance, and has never died

[…] Auerbach and others have […] the boundaries between the […] broke down in the Middle […] Shakespeare was well aware […] confused them deliberately, […]ckery of literary criticism "tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral-comical, historical-[…], tragical-historical, tragical-[…]historical-pastoral . . .". The […] literary form of the […] centuries, the novel, does […] belong to any of the […] genres at all. Neverthe[…] attempt to write new rules […]ifying the genres goes on, […] of the teaching of Eng[…], as in the "Tragedy" […] of the Cambridge tripos. […] impressive genre-[…] of recent years has been […] Frye's in his *Anatomy of* […], but even this invites […]. The vagueness of literary […] is so great that a sophis[…] modern work of literature, […] Shakespearian play, may […] immense range of possible […] a thousandfold greater […] of a primitive work of […] number of variables is so […] possibly no two serious […] literature resemble each […] in the most super[…], so that taxonomy may […]ble.

[…] some obvious qualifi[…] such sweeping scepticism, […] play with an unhappy end[…] a death of the hero or […] may legitimately be called […], though just how much […] classic tragedies have […] with each other is still a […] dispute and probably […] will be. Secondly, a case […] made out for using the term […] to describe works that use […] extra-literary ends: in […], the wit of satire is […] of propagandist. Satire is *not* a genre (although "formal satire", classical or written in imitation of classical models, can be called a genre), but a set of procedures that can be found almost anywhere in literature, tragic or non-tragic, dramatic or non-dramatic.

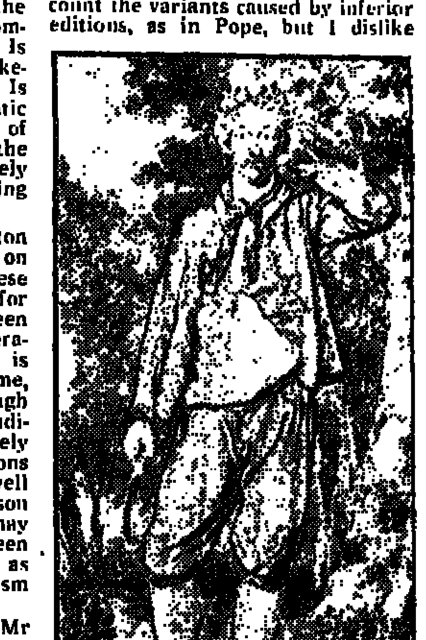
"Comedy" is notoriously the hardest nut of all to crack. Does it mean a kind of satire with the extra-literary, tendentious component left out or toned down? Is there any likeness between Shakespearian and classical comedy? Is there any likeness between dramatic and non-dramatic comedy, except of the most superficial kind? Can the word "comedy" be legitimately used except in the vague meaning of everyday conversation?

Alan Rodway and Morton Gurewitch, the two latest writers on this subject, do not clear up these questions. They both disregard, for example, the differences between dramatic and non-dramatic literature. But when an action is dramatized, being given a fixed time, and conveyed nearly all through direct speech, and so on, the conditions are changed so completely that hardly any useful comparisons can be made. This applies as well to tragedy: thus, a comparison between Sophocles and Ibsen may be useful, a comparison between Hardy and Aeschylus never is, as most readers of literary criticism find through experience.

In this respect, as in others, Mr Rodway's *English Comedy* is less satisfactory than Professor Gurewitch's *Comedy*. There are a few pages of general remarks on the theory of comedy which I find confused. But thereafter the general principles get left behind or obscured in detail; what follows is a potted history of everything in English that is obviously non-tragic or could remotely be considered comic. The mesh of his net is so wide that almost every kind of fish swims into it, only to swim out again before it can be inspected, let alone caught. The sequence is broadly: Chaucer, Dunbar; then Elizabethan and Jacobean stage-comedy; seventeenth-century verse; Restoration comedy; then the satirical verse of Dryden and Pope; then, in haste, the eighteenth-century novels. This is interspersed with indifferent examples of what was called "background" or "life and thought" in Cambridge: that is, simplistic generalizations about social history and the climate of ideas. When he comes to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries he dots about even more recklessly between novel, poetry and drama, progressing inevitably through Butler, Shaw, Waugh and Joyce, to Joseph Heller and Tom Stoppard. The critical remarks are sometimes quite sprightly, and might interest a lecture audience; but sometimes they are leaden. He quotes Marvell's "To his Coy Mistress" (why?) and comments: "Like Sedley's, the writing itself is emblematic of an unconstipated life-style; but this poem is releasing in a bigger way than his." What is the metaphor—diarrhoea?

Mr Rodway is a master of the untelling quotation from other critics. He occasionally disagrees with one of them, but usually quotes with approval the most tedious space-fillers. For example, he quotes Jack Plumb on the year 1793: "Defeat in Europe, disaster in the West Indies, bad harvests, and loss of markets—it was no wonder that discontent was rife at home. The mob broke Pitt's windows, revolutionary clubs multiplied, and Pitt began a policy of repression." Now, doubtless Professor Plumb had to write something like that when he got to 1793 in a popular history, and it is perhaps nothing to be ashamed of; but it is certainly nothing to be proud of, and, since it adds nothing to our understanding of literature, it does not deserve to be enshrined in a book about literature. I suppose Professor Lerner really did write the quotation on page 189: "*Emma* is a full and rich and human book; all the responses it arouses dig deep into warmth and anger, grief and fear." But if he did, he nodded; his words should be passed over in forgiving silence, not brought to our critical attention. I should add that a crass quotation from my own prose turns up in this gallery of mediocrity.

Mr Rodway's book is remarkable also for the high percentage of errors in his quotations from the classics. For example, in a piece of Chaucer he leaves out the negative "ne", which spoils sense and scansion. There are eight errors in eleven lines of Dunbar. I do not know what *Aucassin et Nicolete* is doing here, but there is at least one nonsense-word and one omission. I do not count the variants caused by inferior editions, as in Pope, but I dislike



Joseph Munden (1758-1832) as Autolycus in "The Winter's Tale": one of the items in the exhibition, The Georgian Playhouse, *at the Hayward Gallery, London, until October 12.*

wrong line-references and punctuation (Pope), omission of words (Congreve) and erratic capitalization and spelling (Peacock). That is only a small sample, but it makes me distrust the passages I have not checked. But this would not matter if he had succeeded in making one new and valid generalization about comedy.

Comedy: The Irrational Vision is in that respect not much more successful, but it does offer a better starting point for an investigation. The first chapter quotes several themes of comedy—by Joseph Campbell, Susanne Langer, Northrop Frye, Arnold, Nietzsche, Meredith and Bergson—and quite skilfully shows the unacceptability of each as a general statement. An interesting aberration which keeps appearing in modern, mainly American, criticism is the uncritical use of Cornford's *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (1914). Cornford was not trying to make a generalization about all comedy, as Professor Gurewitch points out: in so far as he had a general theory, it was something like Meredith's. But his application of "anthropology" to Greek religion and drama caused him to see a likeness between Aristophanes's plays and a hypothetical fertility ritual with four main types: the carrying-out of death (and disease); the fight of summer and winter; the struggle of the young king and the old; death and resurrection. Comedy emphasized "the phallic element and the fertility marriage". This is familiar stuff to readers of *Finnegans Wake*, since Joyce had read Frazer and probably Cornford; and adaptations of the idea by Frye and C. L. Barber (*Shakespeare's Festive Comedy*) have had much prestige. Professor Barber's book, which is tempered with scholarship and good sense, is the best use of Cornford in English literary criticism; but Professor Gurewitch has no difficulty in showing that the theory cannot be stretched to cover all kinds of comedy without gross distortion. This chapter is very well argued, up to the conclusion that "'Comedy' has to be recognized as a matrix term that embraces miscellaneous impulses, which can be sensed empirically as effects before they are regarded as intentions".

The second chapter, which is about Freud's theory of jokes, is not quite so helpful. *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905) really is about jokes and not about comedy. For that matter, it is largely about Jewish and mildly antisemitic jokes: stories whose point was that Jews rarely or never washed seemed to get Freud hysterical with laughter. It is rather a long haul from the analysis of these sometimes funny and always masochistic jokes to the proper business of literary criticism, and no one has ever quite made it. In any case generalizations about laughter and humour, even those as intelligent as Freud's, are becoming discredited, as more is known about animal and infantile behaviour. The human smile, for example, has been found to contain many components in different combinations, such as the pleasure in play, the desire to appease a superior, and embarrassment. If the smile is as complicated as that, what can usefully be said about the elaborate responses of an audience to a stage comedy? Besides, humour and laughter are such peculiar and individual affairs that they are perhaps left out of the discussion of comedy altogether: for example, some people find Anthony Powell's novels funny, while I find them admirable in every respect except that; whereas I only have to think about the thunderbox or Father Rothschild, SJ or Mrs Ape to start laughing.

In the next chapters Professor Gurewitch pursues his negative argument effectively, if without much grace or wit. His examples are sophisticated and some of them out of the way; like Ignazio Silone's *Bread and Wine* (now forgotten?), a real period farce by Labiche and Delacour, an essay by Baudelaire on Hoffmann. The other examples come from the standard museum of twentieth-century culture: *The Tropic of Cancer, The Ginger Man, Catch-22, Lolita, The Tin Drum, The Trial, and Endgame*. I cannot see what Kafka and Beckett are doing in this gallery: I know they make good jokes, but so does Hamlet, and in fact the human impulse to make jokes on all occasions, even on deathbeds or on the gallows, is an overwhelming one. There is some excellent criticism, particularly on the use of logic in Carroll and Wilde, but the great question of comedy as a genre seems to recede into the distance.

The conclusion is reached in the last chapter, "From Demonic Laughter to Magic Buffoonery", which is mainly about Rabelais and argues that the essence of comedy is Pantagruelism (the parent of Shandyism); an irrational, topsy-turvy view of the world followed by health-giving laughter. In this view the archetypal hero is the great anarch Panurge, although he gives the last word to Molière's Sganarelle and his jokes about urine. "How can we help relishing farce if its practitioners annihilate standard behaviour and conventional attitudes with this kind of irreverent verve? And how can we help absorbing the irrationality of farce as a life-saving carnival of folly?" I suppose that this must be true of some kinds of humour, which by dealing openly and irreverently with forbidden subjects offers a safety valve. At the present, sex is no longer a forbidden topic in many circles; but race certainly is one: it is not surprising that there has recently been a great revival of racial jokes, about Irish, Jews and even Africans, which are unspeakable to many liberal intellectuals and probably even illegal. The last stage comedy I saw made jokes about death, which I understand is a taboo subject to many people. But a good racial or funereal joke will not make a comedy any more than a sexual joke will; and if the genre is to be defined in terms of antinomianism and rebellion against reason we shall have to leave out a good deal, starting with Ben Jonson. Restoration comedy also seems to be in favour of reason against idiocy.

It seems hard for modern Americans to believe in playwrights who liked conventional attitudes, if they were right ones, and pilloried non-standard behaviour. If that is so, then the scepticism that Professor Gurewitch applied to other theories of comedy can be applied to his "irrational vision". If we are no nearer to a true definition of comedy, there is no need for despair. There are still many things to be said about stage comedy and the humorous novels and Professor Gurewitch has said some of them very well.

P. D. James

The Black Tower

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FABER & FABER

To the Editor

Byron's Letters

Sir,—I have with some surprise read Peter Conrad's article on Byron's variant solves (August 29). That Byron's gift for mimicry and his nervous uncertainty about himself combined in his assumption of an infinite number of different and contradictory masks, and that therefore Byron must remain obscure to all posterity, revives that ideological prejudice of the poet's theatrical emptiness which scholars have so convincingly begun to destroy. On these assumptions, Byron must appear as a poet lacking substance, worth reading only for his histrionic effects and his doubles entendres, and all scholarly efforts to enquire into the motivation of his self-concealment and into the nature of his thought must seem superfluous.

This inversion of all scholarly method makes Mr Conrad's criticism of Leslie Marchand's and John Jump's valuable publications shockingly unfair. Byron's work in poetry and prose—had he read it for the substance which he a priori denies—should have warned Mr Conrad not to mistake the appearance for the reality and be credulous about the poet's ironic self-denigrations. The origin of the poet's emotions and of his urge to conceal those emotions under a totally dissenting intellectual superstructure, the consistency of his thought as opposed to his feelings, the conflict of the would-be romantic poet with the must-be satirical realist, in short, all the biographical and literary manifestations of Byron's and the Byronic hero's "antithetically mixed nature", are resolvable problems and demonstrable facts. Their analysis (as in Gleckner's *Byron and the Ruins of Paradise*, Cooke's *The Blind Man traces the Circle*, or my own forthcoming *Lord Byron and the Nature of Man*) is making quick progress based on the sound work of editors and biographers like Professor Marchand. Prejudices, with their unproved dogmatic assumptions, have ever derogated and satanized the dissenting genius, declaring him a dangerous unthinking madman. But methodical scholarship will finally overcome that misrepresentation of Byron as the Satanic Lord, whose brilliant eloquence half-way reconciles the reader to his shallow (because non-Christian) thought, as his noble death half-way reconciles him to his scandalous (because non-Christian) life.

ROLF P. LESSENICH.
English Department, University of Bonn, West Germany.

The Liberal Regeneration

Sir,—In his letter of September 12 D. A. Hamer makes two serious charges against my *Gladstone and Radicalism* (reviewed on August 22). First he alleges that I underrate the importance of "faddists" in the Liberal Party, and then propounds his well-known theory of there being a widespread desire to subordinate "faddish" programme politics to the concept of a single overriding issue (i e, Irish Home Rule). This view is wholly inconsistent with the evidence as presented in my book. Professor Hamer overlooks the pertinent fact that Chamberlain's attempt in 1885 to squeeze a diversified programme into a rigid sectional (nonconformist) framework utterly failed, the experiment never being repeated. Moreover, in the new democratic climate Liberals betrayed a growing desire to press ahead with a range of fresh issues, such as comprehensive local government reform and measures designed to ameliorate the conditions of the poor. By no stretch of the imagination can the proponents of ideas of this magnitude be called "faddists"—a fatuous term employed, presumably, either as a euphemism for cranks or (in polemic) as an abusive epithet by reactionary politicians seeking to defend vested interests.

Who then were the "faddists" and what were the "crotchets" which, historians frequently claim, turned the Liberal Party into a music-hall joke? Professor Hamer offers temperance and disestablishment—he would be hard pressed, indeed, to cite other equally significant examples. It is abundantly clear that Liberal leaders regarded "faddism" as a far less potent threat to party unity than Home Rule details, about which they themselves were bitterly divided. On the other hand, these same leaders simply did not regard the Newcastle programme as a crotchetmonger's paradise at the time of its compilation (in 1891). How agitated and politically inept advocates of the "clean slate" subsequently regarded it is irrelevant to the main issue.

Secondly, Professor Hamer fears that I may have created a mythical "Gladstone the radical" by overstating an unconvincing case. Yet the most unexpected revelation in the book concerns Gladstone's warm espousal of trade union militancy during strikes, and here the evidence is sustained, unambiguous, and incontrovertible. However, Professor Hamer concedes one vital point in his last sentence, where he states that the aged Gladstone "was primarily concerned to achieve Home Rule for Ireland". I have never suggested otherwise. My purpose was to destroy the absurd—though prevalent—myth that a demoniacal Gladstone ate, talked, and dreamt Home Rule to the exclusion of all other matters.

MICHAEL BARKER.
Department of History, University College of Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea SA2 8PP.

Alain

Sir,—In his review of Richard Pevear's English translation of Alain's *Les Dieux* (September 5), Martin Turnell states that *The Gods* "is only the second of his [Alain's] works to be translated into English". This is inaccurate. *Mars; or, The Truth about War*, a translation of *Mars, ou la guerre jugée*, was published by J. Cape in 1930. In 1973 Frederick Ungar Publishing Co, New York, published *Alain On Happiness*, our translation of *Propos sur le bonheur*.

ROBERT D. COTTRELL.
JANE E. COTTRELL.
Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Issac Rosenberg

Sir,—In attempting to discredit my account of the disastrous marriage of Isaac Rosenberg's parents, I. O. Horvitch (September 5) has merely succeeded in acquainting a wider audience with the details of that melancholy matter. I am sorry for his distress but hardly surprised as biographers and the living relations of biographees are often at odds. Since Mr Horvitch has belaboured the point, not only in your columns but elsewhere, ever since *Journey to the Trenches* was published last April, I must iterate that my account was based entirely on an autobiographical fragment of eight pages written by Rosenberg's father, in Hebrew, given to me in 1960 and authenticated both as to legitimacy of source and veracity of content by Mr Horvitch's aunt, Annie Wynick, Rosenberg's sister and literary executrix for over four decades. Mr Horvitch's sensitivity apart, several other people have raised questions about the fragment's reliability. To end this nonsense constructively, I have offered to publish the autobiographical fragment with a precise translation by any distinguished Hebraist Mr Horvitch engages.

It is understandable that Mr Horvitch would focus attention pejoratively on W. W. Robson's neutral use of the terms "fanciful" and "novelistic" (August 29). I wish only to say that Rosenberg's story is a dramatically compelling one, replete with narrative value. If my account reflects that narrative with some imagination, and I hope it does, no one may thereby imply that I have sacrificed truth for style. I forgive Mr Horvitch his need to wrench Professor Robson's adjectives.

My deep appreciation of Professor Robson's review is exceeded only by my great respect for him as a scholar.

JOSEPH COHEN.
Newcomb College, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118.

Son and Lover

Sir,—In his review of Philip Callow's *Son and Lover* (September 5) Julian Moynahan rightly condemns the biographer's "confusion between art and life". As regards the episode of the smashed and burnt doll in *Sons and Lovers*, although as Mr Callow says neither of Lawrence's sisters referred to it, Jessie Chambers suggested that the scene was prompted by Rossetti's *Sister Helen*. If so, it was not an authentic action in Lawrence's childhood. Further, I have recently found an account of a similar sacrifice of a doll by fire, in Carlyle's *Reminiscences*. Carlyle wrote that according to Geraldine Jewesbury,

> She [Jane Welsh Carlyle] made great progress in Latin, and was in Virgil when nine years old. She always loved her doll; but when she got into Virgil she thought it shame to care for her doll. On her tenth birthday she built a funeral pile of lead pencils and sticks of cinnamon, and poured some sort of perfume over all, to represent a funeral pile [illegible] then recited the speech of [illegible] stabbed her doll and let [illegible] the sawdust; after which she [illegible] sumed her to ashes, and then burst into a passion of tears

Without needing to assert [illegible] Lawrence used Carlyle as a source, we have at least a parallel between Paul Morel and Jane Welsh in [illegible] "sacrifice" of a doll as a symbol of growing up and putting away childish things. In the chapter "The Young Life of Paul" it [illegible] through this that the boy shook [illegible] his sister's domination. But [illegible] is not a parallel with Lawrence himself. However Mr Callow is [illegible] alone in his error. Hugh Kingsmill referred to the episode as showing "the division in Lawrence's character" as long ago as 1938, and more recently E. Delavenay took it as an example of "Lawrentian sadism". But it is certainly wrong to try to transfer a fictional incident into an author's life as Mr Callow has done, whatever justification there might be for judging a writer's mentality according to his works.

FRANCIS SCARFE.
6 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris [illegible] France.

'The Prelude' and its Echoes

Sir,—There is an earlier and more exact analogue to the "Was it for this . . . ?" of *Prelude* I, 269 ff, than has, I believe, so far been pointed out in this correspondence (see especially April 18, June 6). It is in Canto 7 of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, stanzas 56-9, where the good sorceress Melissa rebukes Ruggiero for having become an Adonis or Atys of Alcina, rather than the new Alexander, Caesar or Scipio she had brought him up to be: "'E questo dunque il frutto, ch'io Lungamente atteso ho del sudor mio? . . . E questo quel che l'osservate stelle. . . . Questo è ben veramente alto principio!'" John Harington's English rendering (1591), compressing Ariosto's rhetorical repetition, uses the precise phrase of Pope, Shenstone and Wordsworth:

> Was it for this, that I in youth thee fed,
> With marrow of the beares and lyons fell?
> That I through caues and deserts haue thee led . . . ?

It seems probable that Ariosto remembered the *Aeneid* passage (II, 664-7) already noted.

This is not to deny the central position, in the descent thus revealed, of Manoa's question to Samson: "'For this did the angel twice descend? For this . . . ?'" (361-7). Indeed the contexts make it almost certain that Milton remembered, if not alluded to, this moment of *Orlando Furioso*, as Pope must also have done in *The Rape of the Lock* (IV, 96-101). May not the prominent place given to heroic story in the preceding passage of *The Prelude* (146-220) mean that Wordsworth did so too?

HOWARD ERSKINE-HILL.
Jesus College, Cambridge.

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A & C BLACK

Among this week's contributors

Z. BANKOWSKI is a Lecturer in Public Law at the University of Edinburgh.

A. E. BOTTOMS is the Director of the Centre for Criminological Studies, Sheffield, and a member of the English Parole Board.

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JOHN FULLER'S collections of poems include *Cannibals and Missionaries*, 1972, and *Epistles to Several Persons*, 1974.

HEINRICH FRAENKEL is the author of biographies of Goering and Goebbels.

MATTHEW HODGART is the author of *Satire*, 1969.

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GEORGE RUDE'S *Robespierre* was published earlier this month.

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CHRISTOPHER SYKES'S *Evelyn Waugh* will be published next week.

LAURIE TAYLOR is the author of *Deviance and Society*, 1971.

GORDON TRASLER'S books include *In Place of Parents*, 1960, and *The Explanation of Criminality*, 1962.

MERIOL TREVOR'S books include *Newman*, 1962, and *The Arnolds*, 1973.

BRYAN WILSON is the author of *Magic and the Millennium*, 1973.

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THEODORE ZIOLKOWSKI is the author of *Dimensions of the Modern Novel* (1969), and of *Fictional Transfigurations of Jesus* (1972).

Clause Four rides again

By David Marquand

STUART HOLLAND:
The Socialist Challenge
Quartet Books. £5.95.

[illegible] country of the blind, the [illegible] is king. In a labour [illegible] starved of theory, Stuart [Holland] is rapidly becoming an ideological guru. His *The Socialist Challenge* is glib and cocksure in [illegible], grating in style and [illegible] in argument; if it could be judged solely on its intellectual [merits], no one would have to take it seriously. But it cannot be considered solely on its merits.

[Politi]cally, this is a work of the [first im]portance, which the social[ist] [illegible] wing of the Labour [Party], in particular, will have to take very seriously indeed. For what Mr Holland has done is to pour new wine into the old bottles of Clause Four: to provide, for the first time for twenty-five years, an at least faintly plausible theoretical justification for the prejudices of the Labour left. He has done so, moreover, at a time when the [illegible] left—dimly aware that in the battles that lie ahead over the government's anti-inflation policies its leaders will be fighting on the opposite side, but uncertain how to combat their apostasy and [illegible] half-afraid that they may, after all, be right—is in desperate need of plausible theories. In these circumstances, it seems to me as certain as anything in politics ever is that his arguments will be seized on with delight; and for that reason, if for no other, his arguments will be forced to pay a good deal more attention to them than they deserve.

[Hi]s arguments rest on two [centr]al propositions: that the Keynesian economic techniques on which most Western governments have relied for most of the time since the Second World War no longer work; and that the reason they no longer work is that all Western economies are now dominated by giant, multinational firms whose power is so great that the puny sticks and carrots of Keynesian demand management have no significant effect on their behaviour. Thanks to these giant firms, Mr Holland explains, the Keynesian distinction between "macroeconomics", or the economics of society viewed as a whole, and "micro-economics", or the economics of the sectors which make up that whole, has broken down; and the Keynesian assumption that governments can manage the economy by macro-economic intervention alone has broken down with it.

Keynes, Mr Holland correctly points out, was a pioneer of macro-economics. He took it for granted that, at the level of the individual firm, the old laws of classical micro-economics still held good; and it was because he took this for granted that he believed that once the government had settled the level of aggregate demand, individual firms could safely be left to their own devices. But, Mr Holland claims, the giant multinationals which now dominate the [illegible] the economy do not behave in the way in which Keynes assumed all firms behaved. Keynesian demand management, he writes [illegible] (and, alas, characteristic) [illegible],

> [illegible] relevant as a background for the control of consumer demand and the creation of appropriate demand climate for small—and medium-sized firms of the conventional competitive model. But the trend to monopoly and multinational capital has set a new mode of production in between the Keynesian macroeconomic and microeconomic categories. This is the new mesoeconomic sector which controls the commanding heights of big business in the national and international economy (Greek: *mesos* equals intermediate).

Keynesian macro-economic revolution, in other words, must now be followed by a Hollandian mesoeconomic revolution; and unless governments recognize that Keynes must be supplemented by Holland they will have no hope of recapturing the economic sovereignty they [illegible]

A further, and from the point of view of the Labour left an even more consoling, conclusion follows as well. If Keynes was wrong, it follows that Keynes's disciples must be wrong; and since Keynes's disciples include the revisionist wing of the international labour movement, it follows that revisionism must be wrong too. Roy Jenkins, Tony Crosland and the German Social Democrats, in other words, have been unhorsed along with Keynes. Marx rides again; and the diluted Marxism of Clause Four rides with him. Or, as Mr Holland puts it:

> This trend to national and multinational monopoly clearly corroborates the main emphasis in Marx's analysis of the location of power in the organization of production. It supports the traditional socialist argument that without public ownership and control of the dominant means of production, distribution and exchange, the State will never manage the strategic features of the economy in the public interest.

But although Marx rides again, he does not ride as far as he might have been expected to do. For Marx, Mr Holland tells us disarmingly, provided only the Old Testament of socialism; a New Testament is needed as well. And, in striking contrast to the authors of the original New Testament, Mr Holland is strangely reluctant to push his argument to its logical conclusion. Having shown, or at least purported to show, that capitalism is unregenerate and social justice impossible until the means of production are publicly owned, he suddenly flinches from the implications of his own theory; having devoted several pages to an attack on revisionism, he proceeds to demonstrate that he is a kind of undercover revisionist himself. For total public ownership, it turns out, is not necessary after all, or at any rate not for a long time to come. All that is needed for the moment is the establishment of some state holding companies on the lines of the Italian IRI, buttressed by compulsory planning agreements and a form of workers' control described so opaquely that I, at any rate, did not understand how it would work in practice. The mountain has laboured and brought forth a mouse.

It is, however, a dangerous mouse—dangerous both to society in general and to the labour movement in particular—and we must not allow its diminutive size to blind us to the dangers it carries with it. It is dangerous, above all, because the theory which spawned it is nonsense. It is true that the top firms, in this country as in others, account for a larger share of total production than they used to do. It is also true that in Britain, though not in other Western countries, economic growth has been fairly slow and investment sluggish. Thirdly, it is true (though not in the least surprising) that new economic problems have appeared since Keynes's death nearly thirty years ago, to which Keynes's theories do not, in themselves, provide a solution.

But it is not true at all that the alleged rise of Mr Holland's alleged new "mesoeconomic sector" has made it impossible for governments to manage aggregate demand in the way that Keynes said they could. Nor is it true that Britain's poor economic performance is due either to the inadequacies of Keynesian demand management or to the activities of the multinational firms which belong to Mr Holland's alleged new sector. Least of all is it true that the appearance of new economic problems since Keynes died has, in some miraculous way, proved that Marx was right and the revisionists wrong.

The truth is that—"mesoeconomic sector" or no "mesoeconomic sector"—Keynesian demand management has been astoundingly successful. It has not eradicated poverty, abolished inequality or ushered in a Marxist nirvana without exploitation, injustice or the oppression of man by man. Nor, for that matter, has it brought perpetual sunshine to the mountains of Kerry or made the desert blossom like a rose. But no one in his right mind ever expected it to do anything of the kind. It has done what Keynes hoped it would do: no more, but also no less. It is hard to think of a more impressive achievement in the history of social thought.

This is not to say that governments can achieve *all* their aims by Keynesian methods: it would be odd if they could. To take one obvious example, Mr Holland is right in saying that Keynesian theory does not provide an adequate solution to the problem of regional inequality, and that it ought to be tackled, not only by subsidies and tax concessions, but by physical controls over investment in the prosperous regions and by direct public-sector investment in the poor ones. Though he grossly exaggerates the effectiveness of the Italians' regional policy, I believe he is also right in saying that a state holding company on the model of the Italian IRI might be a better instrument for doing this than the existing nationalized industries are. But none of this need disconcert a consistent Keynesian. The reason why Keynes's theories provide no solution to the problem of regional inequality is that they were not designed to provide one.

The same is true of the infinitely more serious problem of inflation, to which Mr Holland—revealingly, but not surprisingly—devotes little attention. Keynes's theories were designed to solve the problem of demand deflation and can also be applied to the problem of demand inflation. As we all know from bitter experience, however, they provide no solution to the problem of cost inflation, which did not become acute until long after Keynes's death. At the moment, therefore, when the authorities have to cope simultaneously with a soaring cost inflation and a deepening recession, Keynes offers no way out of the wood. If the Government were prepared to expand aggregate demand in the time-honoured Keynesian fashion, the recession would sooner or later come to an end. The reason the Government does not do this is that it would give another twist to an already deadly inflationary spiral if it did. Until cost-inflation has been brought under control, it has no alternative but to allow the recession to continue, but this does not prove that recessions can no longer be ended: it proves that cost-inflation should not be allowed to get out of control.

No sane man would pretend that this is a pleasant predicament, and no honest man would pretend that he is sure how to get out of it. What is certain, however, is that Mr Holland points firmly in the wrong direction. Whatever else may be unclear, there can no longer be any reasonable doubt that, in conditions of even fairly full employment, cost inflation is inevitable without some form of long-term incomes policy which will ensure that wage increases do not run ahead of the increase in real wealth. Unless we can somehow devise an incomes policy which will last not just for a year or two but for the foreseeable future we shall either have to abandon all hope of returning to full employment or reconcile ourselves to endemic inflation.

Mr Holland, however, rejects this whole approach. Though he pays routine homage to the social contract, he explicitly rejects the notion that it should be used to moderate wage increases. Even voluntary wage restraint is excluded until the Government has brought in a "socialist strategy of control of prices and profits at source"—not, to put it at its lowest, something which seems likely to happen at all quickly. As for a statutory incomes policy, that is a form of "proto-Fascism". At the same time, he advocates stringent price controls, a whole range of nationalization measures and a massive expansion of public-sector investment. His solution to the inflationary crisis, in short, is to let wage increases rip, to add substantially to the public sector deficit and to squeeze profits in the private sector still further. These are the economics of the bankruptcy court.

Mr Holland's central thesis—repeated again and again and again—is that Britain's economic failures are due, wholly and solely, to the machinations of the multinationals in the "mesoeconomic sector". It is they who cause inflation, by charging higher prices than they need. It is they who push our balance of payments into deficit, by making nefarious transfer-price arrangements with their subsidiaries or parent companies abroad.

Above all, it is they who cause the British economy to stagnate, by wilfully holding down their investment in this country. These activities, however, are not merely wicked: on Mr Holland's own showing they are also totally irrational. For a crucial part of his argument is that Keynesian social democracy has been invalidated, not merely in Britain, but everywhere else as well: that the "mesoeconomic" multinationals dominate, not merely our economy, but our competitors' economies also. But if the British "mesoeconomic sector" has behaved in this outrageous fashion, why is it that foreign "mesoeconomic sectors" have not?

Why, in particular, has investment been low in Britain and high in Germany? Is it perhaps because of the restrictive practices of the British trade unions, the overmanning which results from and the industrial disputes that accompany them? Not at all: the trade unions are guiltless, and it is "meso-myopia" to blame them for anything that has gone wrong. Is it because our managers are incompetent and badly trained? Not at all: there is a vast pool of management talent in this country, only waiting to be tapped by the National Enterprise Board. Is it because German governments have been better at economic management than British governments have been? Not at all: German governments have practised precisely the economic policies which Mr Holland most strenuously condemns and has shown to be unworkable.

Then what is the explanation for the difference between Britain and Germany? If Mr Holland is right, the only possible answer is that the British "mesoeconomic sector" is staffed with malevolent masochists, whose chief object in life is to do down the British working class, even if by doing so they will sell fewer goods and make less money.

It is, of course, a fantasy—and a sick, destructive fantasy at that. What Britain most needs at the moment is a stop to the paranoid bickering of a class war which ought to have ended years ago: a truce between organized labour and big business, based on a recognition of the need for a profitable private sector on one side and a recognition of the need for greater economic equality and industrial democracy on the other; and, perhaps most important of all, an at least tacit agreement between all concerned that industrial policy will no longer be treated as a political football. There is at least a chance that the present crisis may induce us to proceed in this direction, and it is a chance which all sane men should be eager to grasp with both hands. If Mr Holland has his way we shall do exactly the opposite. The tragedy is that the chief sufferers will be the poorest sections of the community whose cause he thinks he has espoused.

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GOLLANCZ

In the judgment seat

By John Foster

HENRY CECIL:
Just Within the Law
Memories and Reminiscences
220pp. Hutchinson. £4.

Henry Cecil, a popular and successful author, hides the identity of Henry Cecil Leon, an equally successful barrister and, from 1949 to 1967, county court judge. One of the essential qualities of a judge is compassion, which is as necessary an attribute of a civil as of a criminal judge. It enables him to understand that a large number of litigants or accused commit perjury. On the Continent parties are not subjected to an oath; in nineteenth-century England parties to a civil suit and accused were not admissible to give evidence as it was felt that subjecting them to an oath put an unfair burden on them. They wanted to win their case.

Mr Justice Grantham—probably the worst judge of the past 150 years—went to Norwich Assizes for his first brief, which was handed to him at the opening of the court. He read: "Counsel is requested to ask for an adjournment of the case of R v Bloggs as the alibi witnesses are on another case at Bury St Edmunds and are not expected to arrive in Norwich until tomorrow morning." Judge Leon would have understood the position in that case. His compassion is shown by the fact that he appointed a welfare officer for his county court. The magistrates' courts have welfare officers to help those in distress—acquitted or convicted. Judge Leon was thoughtful enough of these litigants with nobody to help them who would be in a hopeless position if they lost, or more rarely perhaps, if they won a case. As he says, in his autobiography *Just Within the Law*, the unfortunate losing litigant would feel he had at least one knowledgeable friend in the world, and in one case the honorary welfare officer saved a man from losing a leasehold interest worth £3,000.

When Mr Cecil (to restore his alias) started practising in the county courts there were a number of idiosyncratic and fairly often unpleasant judges. A notable example was Hill Kelly, who was rude and knowledgeable—he had, as Mr Cecil says, "a pretty strong belief in his own infallibility". His behaviour in dismissing the cases of litigants in person, or even those represented by not very skilful practitioners, was so outrageous that the Lord Chancellor got rid of him after sending an observer to his court. He may have seen the incident when Hill Kelly asked a woman plaintiff, who after taking the oath stood tongue-tied: "Well ma'am?" and then, as she said nothing: "Struck out—call the next one." On another occasion he was heard yelling at a woman in tears in the witness-box and waving a lease—"Look at the habendum, madam".

The practitioners could be equally intransigent. In an accident case where the injuries were slight a well-known Irish practitioner in the county court would, while the jury were in the box, within earshot, and the court was waiting for the judge to take his seat, pull out a plan and, standing a few feet from the jury, say to his opponent in a loud voice: "Bloggs, will you admit the pool of blood was here on the plan?"

Mr Cecil gives his views on his experience, the genesis and development of his dual career as lawyer (first barrister, then judge) and writer; his views on his milieu, the life of the law courts, legal personalities, and lastly his suggestions for further reform. His presentation is not at all didactic. He is disarmingly free from pomposity and self-righteousness, and is as ready to turn an anecdote against himself as to illustrate the shortcomings of others. He is an enthusiastic law-reformer, espousing, for example, no-fault insurance which would take most motor accident cases out of the courts.

Mr Cecil is on the side of those who want the right of silence on the part of the accused to be modified. Why should the police be deprived of one of the easiest ways of proving the guilt of the offender? Bentham is quoted:

> If all criminals of every class had assembled, and framed a system after their own wishes, is not this rule the very first which they would have established for their security? Innocence never takes advantage of it. Innocence claims the right of speaking, as guilt invokes the privilege of silence.

Why should not a man be asked questions, the answers to which may incriminate him, so long as he is not induced to do so by violence, threats or bribes?

Mr Cecil is in favour of suppressing the "verbals", i e statements alleged by the police to have been made by a suspect on arrest, and which can be made up by a dishonest policeman or elicited by a frustrated officer who is inhibited by the Judges' Rules from proving the guilt of the suspect. Mr Cecil might well have had in mind the man with a Polish name arrested in the East End whose alleged statement, as taken down by two high-ranking police officers, contained a number of Yiddish expressions such as "gonif" and "chutzpah". It turned out that the suspect was a Catholic ex-army officer who knew no Yiddish.

What comes through very clearly from reading this book is Mr Cecil's kindliness, happy temperament and skill in integrating his two professions. Although he kept them strictly apart to the extent of using a pseudonym for his books so that very few people outside his circle identified the judge as the writer, in fact his careers were complementary. By combining his capacity as an observer with his skill as a writer he was able to use his experience as material for his books (*Brothers in Law* became a best seller).

Mr Cecil has obviously thought a lot about the improvement of the legal system. His comments show that he has come to the conclusion that a lot of litigation is due to the helplessness and inadequacy of the litigants. He sees legal aid as a very important innovation. Although he tells us, against himself, that he was pernickety and too much a stickler for the letter of the law in divorce cases, nevertheless he welcomed the new divorce law and saw it as humane and necessary.

Although the book is mainly about the writer's career as a lawyer, the shadow of the author is constantly at hand. The book itself is an illustration of the skill of the judge as a professional writer, and one feels that had it been left to him his career would have taken a more wholly literary direction. He tells us how he wrote imaginative stories in his early childhood and that it was this early storehouse of imagination which provided him with the capacity for his later writings. When he was at Oxford he edited a magazine and produced a film and a play, and although it would have been impossible for him to devote much time to writing books while he was at the Bar he managed, nevertheless, to do part-time journalism throughout his career as a barrister. During the war he used his long sea journeys to entertain his troops with daily stories. Then when he became a judge he managed in twenty years to produce some thirty books and plays, and film scripts as well.

The author's judgments on advocacy are controversial. He divides the leaders of the Bar of his time, and the judges, into first and second elevens, the first eleven being "top class" lawyers, while in the second eleven are the best judges of first instance. The temptation to assess the merits and qualities of these judges is understandable. Mr Cecil, if he had stayed at the Bar, and not left to become a county court judge and to look after his wife who was stricken with cancer, would undoubtedly have become a High Court judge, with all the chances of going higher that are open to a sound, intelligent lawyer. His accounts of these lawyers include much anecdote. It was Asquith who said: "I do not see why when the ship sinks the rats are expected to join the captain on the bridge while the passengers take to lifeboats provided by the Board of Trade." Parker, in an aside, said of dons at Oxford:

> "When an Oxford tutor gets so incompetent that he cannot collect enough pupils to assure him a reasonable livelihood, he into that resentful coma the University of Oxford nified by the title of resear

Mr Cecil is interesting on racy of questions in cross-ex tion. Patrick Hastings, defending (successfully) Mrs for murder, never asked the w witnesses why, when they had shots, they did not send fo police. In his final speech he

"Are there no police in P ton? Is it conceivable, me of the jury, that if these wit really heard what they be to be shots from a firearm would not have gone runnin to find the nearest police If it really happened, why no

If Hastings had asked these nesses why they had not calle police they might have pro some kind of explanation. In case it would have taken the off his final speech. Mr Cec counts that in a certain ca witness who was wheeling bicycle said the defendant's car going very fast—about sixty an hour. "Are you a good of speed?" "Yes." "D'you a car or a motor-cycle?" " That was the time to stop, counsel went on: "What do do?" he asked. "I'm an en driver", was the reply. One q tion too many, says Mr Cecil

He would have made the s comment in the case where officer was accused of coming into camp late one night. His s servant gave evidence that he completely sober when he atte on him for orders for the next and was not shaken in cross-exa tion. Unluckily the barrister de ing the officer wanted to make self heard once more in re-exa tion of the batman. "Would tell the Court, Private Smith, Captain Jones asked you to call at the unusually early hour 4.45 a m?" "Because he sa was going to be Queen of the Sir."

Computer crimes

By Mary Mackintosh

ROBERT FARR:
The Electronic Criminal
194pp. McGraw Hill. £3.95.

It is hard to resist a gleeful thrill at stories of the ingenuity of people who swindle banks and big companies of thousands of pounds. Swindles are painless, clean and often very quick, and some of the fascinating ones that Robert Farr recounts in *The Electronic Criminals* seem at first to be within the capacity of amateurs like you and me. But the trick with most of the capers that Mr Farr includes under the umbrella of electronic or computer crime is to know the weak point in the security system. Once you know how valuable records are stored and how to communicate with the computer, you can extract information from it or alter it so that, say, a bank balance is transferred to your own account. If you are an outsider, you need either to be very knowledgable or to cultivate good contacts. If you are on the inside in some way yourself, half the battle is won, provided you also know how to deflect suspicion. Mr Farr has some lively tales to tell of the successes and failures of people who have capitalized on such knowledge. For good measure, he adds accounts of the latest developments in altering tape recordings, in tapping telephones and other forms of bugging, in stealing computer programmes, together with a few stories of pyramid frauds and elaborate blackmail rings. There is nothing new here, but Mr Farr knows his stuff—and it is the stuff that dreams are made on.

Next week's
TLS

will be a 2-page issue, the first of two numbers devoted to autumn books and international literature.

Special features will include a previously unpublished discussion of philosophy and mathematics by Wittgenstein, and a major article on the reputation of Kurt Weill, by David Drew.

Angus Wilson will be reviewing the biography of Evelyn Waugh by Christopher Sykes and among the many other new books reviewed will be Liam Hudson's 'Human Beings'.

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Edmund Crispin Sunday Times
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Hutchinson

The English Murder at its best

By Russell Davies

WHITTINGTON-EGAN:
dle of Birdhurst Rise
on Poisoning Mystery
Harrap. £5.75.

ELL:
ion of a Murder
and Trial of Major Arm-
Harrap. £5.50.

MITH:
Smith
Duckworth. £5.95.

Happy family in Croydon: Grace Duff with her children—Mary, John and baby Suzanne: from The Riddle of Birdhurst Rise.

ty years, all but a few since George Orwell noted e of the English Murder, famous *Tribune* essay has dated at all. Its chief com that there was "no depth of " in a typical murder of the ed out to be one of better prophecies; for chosen exemplar, the Cleft der, indeed exhibited no feeling at all—a desert the razzle with his English killed a taxi-driver, for 's and the few shillings in it—one wartime case constitute a trend. What could not have known was whole series of yet more crimes was in preparation would amplify his point satisfactorily. Even as he in fact, two famous and murderers were already in London. Christie, whose not exposed in Orwell's must have had at least already buried in his Rillington Place; while certain that Haigh, a of the Onslow Court Hotel, Kensington, had recently dis three members of the McSwann family in drums of acid stored in his workshop in the Gloucester Road.

Furthermore, the Pembridge Court Hotel, nearby in Notting Hill (how hellish this napkin-ring world of austerity catering seems now, worse even than the young Angus Wilson could make it seem), had only a few weeks to wait before the arrival of Neville Heath and the horrible death of Mrs Gardner in Room 4. These were the typical post-war killers, either psychopaths or petty crooks profiting from confused social conditions, or both; and the decade ended with the fall of another psychotic swindler, Hume, who killed Stanley Setty—a Jew murdered in England with an SS dagger, it is particularly disgusting to note—and distributed him over the Essex marshes in parcelled chunks. Hume's trial, which revealed a depth of everything but feeling, had just begun at the Old Bailey when George Orwell died, in January 1950.

I have often wondered what he would have made of the English Murder since that time. Certainly there would have been much to interest him, politically and legalistically, in the Craig and Bentley case, Manuel, Podola, the Moors Murders and the A6 mystery. But none of these cases satisfies Orwell's central requirement that "crimes as serious as murder should have strong emotions behind them". And latterly, strong emotions seem to have leaked out of murder altogether. A long-held, heartfelt animosity between murderer and victim must now be quite a rare phenomenon, and the classic genre of our day is surely the act of the terrorist, who does not even know those he kills.

Murders still keep the newspapers in headlines, but they excite, at best, only a kind of abstract revulsion: nothing to settle with in an armchair, Orwell-fashion, on a Sunday afternoon. For the rehumanization of murder, we have to look again into the distant suburban past, well beyond the style-setting desperation of Austerity. So it is that, in the middle of 1975, three British murder books are published, the most recent case among them being a dastardly multiple poisoning from 1929.

It is a good case, too, and because of the survival into old age of the chief suspect, a little-known one. Richard Whittington-Egan's manuscript of *The Riddle of Birdhurst Rise* has been waiting in Harrap's vaults for ten years, but now the riddle may be at least recited, if not solved. It concerns three households in late-1920s Croydon. At South Park Hill Road lived the Duffs, Edmund Creighton Duff, his wife Grace, and their three children. Edmund was a robust but somewhat becalmed ex-colonial, eighteen years older than his wife; Grace, as several photographs make plain, was a striking woman, with intensely clear blue eyes and a bearing which—if a pair of ancient press "candids" do not lie—was both imposing and rhythmic. A few bold strides away, in the same road, Grace's brother Tom lived with his family, and around a couple of corners, in Birdhurst Rise, Grace's mother, Violet Sidney, kept house with another daughter, the unmarried but very sporty Vera.

The chapter-headings "Edmund's beer", "Vera's soup" and "Violet's medicine" suffice to indicate where the story went from there. All three victims had been quietly and legally buried—Edmund for some months—by the time Sir Bernard Spilsbury was called in, but the evidence of arsenical poisoning was, as usual, unmistakable. Sundry tins of weed-killer were found in the family's various gardens, a factor which makes the court proceedings (not disagreeably) difficult to follow in Mr Whittington-Egan's account; but this teasing difficulty was a real, important, and from the murderer's point of view probably life-saving feature of the case at the time. As a matter of procedure, the affair could have been treated far more simply. It had been intended by the Director of Public Prosecutions that the three inquests necessary should be held jointly, so that cross-reference between the deaths should remain admissible for the sake of evidence of "system". But the director's advice was quite misunderstood by the coroner, who held each inquest separately, thus diffusing the evidence beyond all possibility of inter-corroboration. To make matters worse, the pathologist Dr Brontë (who is in urgent need of rehabilitation, so consistently does he suffer, in popular accounts, by comparison with Spilsbury) contributed some of his most spectacularly confusing medical testimony, and nobody was ever brought to trial.

Much the most interesting material in Mr Whittington-Egan's book is therefore extraneous stuff, culled retrospectively in several corners of mid-century middle-class England, and boasting, above all, two brief but remarkable doorstep interviews. Having sought out Grace Duff at her south coast retreat in very recent times, the author frankly faces her with what he regards as the fact of her guilt. The words which pass between them are not perhaps as all-revealing as Mr Whittington-Egan would like them to have been (I like, though, Mrs Duff's reply when he assures her nothing will be published until she is dead: "Don't be too sure that you won't die first!"); but one does get from these episodes an authentic *frisson* not unlike the one achieved occasionally in the last chapter ("Many years later. . .") of ambitious, fate-mongering novels. That this "plump, slack woman" with her "bush of wiry white hair" can be the same person as the distinctly glamorous fortyish suspect of 1929 is in itself rather startling; one realizes, for example, how much life Mrs Duff was spared when the Birdhurst Rise affair failed to resolve itself into criminal charges—always assuming she was guilty, of course. If she was not, Mr Whittington-Egan's intrusion becomes a boorish act; but on the whole, I am inclined to congratulate him on living out what in so many cases could only have been a conversation in fantasy.

This in spite of another unusual contribution to the book, a postscript by Mrs Duff's daughter, Grace Mary, who argues very plaintively in her mother's favour. She was "a gay, happy-go-lucky person" who "did not give a button for conventionalism", and was "a great champion of the underdog". "Could such a woman creep about sneaking poison into drinks?" her daughter protests, asking the one question which, in an age when women are rightly anxious to be thought capable of anything, can carry no weight at all. Some of Grace Mary's objections have rather more force. It is true, for instance, that the personal friendship struck up between Tom Sidney and Mr Whittington-Egan seems to have contributed, to the text's, weighting of circumstantial and conjectural evi-

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dence against Grace. And Grace Mary's attempt to discredit Dr Binning, one of the family doctors in the case and another very frank anti-Grace contributor to the book, succeeds momentarily when she reports that Binning may have been "besotted over Mother". The children apparently overheard Binning say "I'm only a man, Grace" and took up this protestation as a "hilarious catch-phrase". "When he called, we used to warn Mother, '*Cave!* Only a Man is coming'." Whether the anecdote finally enhances or damages the atmosphere of familial innocence the loyal daughter is claiming, though, remains debatable.

The picture of life presented by the Croydon case is necessarily unfocused, because there was no trial, but the detail is profuse and evidence of "strong emotions" abounds. Even a peripheral relationship, the professional one between the two family doctors involved with the deaths, reveals a vivid and lasting antipathy. Dr Binning writes of his erstwhile colleague: "The ethics of my profession preclude me from being candid. All that I will say is that I was most thankful when our partnership ended. . . ." In all its

is a handwriting analysis of the disputed will; a Somerset House copy of Armstrong's own death certificate ("Executed pursuant to judgment of death") and a collection of very fine photographs of the outstanding personalities in the case (among them Curtis Bennett, and Spilsbury again), apparently taken in and around Hereford as as they made their way to and from the Shire Hall. There is little satisfaction to be had from photographs of Armstrong; even on trial for his life, he looks more like a servant of the Assize Court than the accused. He is last seen striding out to the police car, in his spats, after sentence of death. The most shocking photographs of all, in a way, are not of people at all, but those depicting the exteriors of the two solicitors' premises in Hay. Both are of a quite hideous shabbiness. Nothing which emerged at the trial so strongly suggested how deep Armstrong's financial desperation might have been towards the end. He never, of course, spoilt his "perfect" murder by admitting his guilt.

Nor did Madeleine Smith, remarkably, though she lived to be ninety-three and consorted, in middle life, with many romantically inclined artistic persons who would have

The Armstrongs' wedding day : from Exhumation of a Murder.

aspects, the Duff case proves one of the richest recorded examples of multiply repressed passions in the history of English suburbia. It suffers, in fact, from a superfluity of motives; and the best one Mr Whittington-Egan can pin on Grace (sexually importunate husband killed, then Sidneys poisoned because they suspected the worst) rings no truer, it has to be said, than half-a-dozen others.

There may have been no love lost between the Croydon doctors, but only in the case of Herbert Rowse Armstrong does the professional man really come into his own. Literally so, for the suspicion of murder against Armstrong, solicitor, of Hay-on-Wye, brought him before a magistrates' court in which he had on countless occasions acted as clerk.

Armstrong's is the classic case of the hypocrite poisoner, the whopping humbug with bright blue eyes. It is around his history that Orwell built his definition of the "perfect murder", from the point of view of the *News of the World* reader. (And a case like Armstrong's makes *News of the World* readers of us all.) The little solicitor was a Cambridge MA, an ex-Army man—holder of the Territorial Decoration—a freemason, and an organizer of church meetings for young people. Husband and father, he was an apparent observer of just about the maximum number of moral disciplines available to a British citizen and householder. Yet he systematically poisoned his domineering wife, allowing her to languish in a mental home between doses, and forged her will in his own favour shortly before the end. After that, he left for a Continental holiday, in the course of which he picked up several women, and syphilis. His financial fortunes had not been permanently changed for the better, however, and upon his return he made a number of comically insistent, and semi-successful, attempts to poison a rival solicitor in the town, who was forced to stay away from his office in order to avoid Armstrong's invitations to tea, scones and arsenic.

If Robin Odell's book on this subject, *Exhumation of a Murder*, researched by J. H. H. Gaute and H. B. Trumper, has left a single stone unturned, it is not apparent to Edgar Lustgarten, who specially asked if he might write a foreword. In his habitual *basso ostinato*, he advises: "Devotees had best not wait till leisure *offers* time. They had best *create* time. They had best start reading *now*." Among the benefits awaiting those who respond, however sluggishly, to this urgent prompting are such unusual features

been mightily impressed by a confession of her adolescent evils. Henry Blyth's new book *Madeleine Smith* confirms that she was a favourite of the Pre-Raphaelites, and that she qualified for a compliment from Henry James ("the prodigious Madeleine" he called her); but it would have been interesting to know more about the nature of this admiration—its tone, as it were. However, thanks to the letters exchanged between Madeleine and her fiancé Emile L'Angelier in the Glasgow of 1857, the tone of the case itself is exceedingly well preserved. Emotions are at full strength throughout the correspondence, Emile revealing himself as a sighing, rather rhetorical and certainly gullible suitor, and Madeleine as possibly the most flighty, insincere and intermittently calculating female correspondent whose letters have been preserved. The only faint doubt surrounding Emile's demise—he went staggering back to his lodgings one night after a late tryst, utterly awash with arsenic—concerns Madeleine's motives; a dead lover was almost bound to cause her more trouble than a gradually subsiding, hopeless one. The about-turns in her prose, however, mark her out as an amazingly abrupt decision-maker. It is almost certain that she was saved only by two peculiarities of Scottish law: the non-provision of a coroner's inquest, where much incidental information would have been exposed, and the possibility of "Not Proven"—the verdict which was in fact returned by the fifteen-man jury.

Mr Blyth's book has some highly eccentric features; the theory of poison administered sexually is particularly extreme, and the graphologist's report, vouchsafed in an appendix, is an annoying rather than a useful intrusion. But almost nothing can spoil the fascination of a book of this kind, and indeed, all three studies are wonderfully well suited to the Sunday afternoon situation Orwell envisaged—after the suet pudding has been "driven home by a cup of mahogany-brown tea". Next time you read the splendidly comfy opening paragraph of Orwell's essay, incidentally, it is worth noting not only how little that certain weekend mood of muggy domesticity has changed since the 1940s; but also how much it has in common with the atmosphere one imagines enclosing the great domestic murderers of earlier decades. Such is the eerie uniformity of suburban leisure, gently stewing through a whole century, that it could have been Armstrong's Sunday-afternoon scene Orwell was setting, or Grace Duff's, or yours, or mine.

In comparison with Canada

By Robert Mark

BRIAN A. GROSMAN :

Police Command : Decisions and Discretion

240pp. Macmillan of Canada and Maclean-Hunter Press. £7.45 (paperback, £3.40).

There is an astonishingly widespread assumption throughout the English-speaking world that its police forces fulfil much the same purposes, that notwithstanding some obvious differences—in, for example, the use of firearms—they have much the same organization, powers, accountability and aspirations. That assumption is largely mistaken; it conceals the unique character of the English (including the Welsh) police force and its difference from those of all other English-speaking countries. This difference is chiefly a matter of the relationships between the various police forces and the communities they serve.

Unfortunately none of this is likely to be obvious to British readers of Brian A. Grosman's *Police Command : Decisions and Discretion* because not one person in a thousand in Great Britain has even a remotely accurate conception of the organization, powers and accountability of his own police service. He will, therefore, not merely be unaware of the differences between policing Canada and Britain but will wrongly assume that much of Professor Grosman's description and comment is equally applicable here. That would be a great pity.

It cannot be said too clearly at the outset that, excellent and interesting though its contents are, this book is about policing Canada and has very little direct relevance for the British reader. Or perhaps, to be more fair, its relevance is largely confined to technical and operational similarities which will have little attraction for those whose real interest is in the book's main theme, the exercise of police command.

It is regrettable that the author did not assume a wider readership and begin with a clear, simple description of the Canadian police system, the number of police forces it comprises, their differences with regard to financial and political control and accountability, the system of prosecution and justice and, above all, the movement, if any, to uniformity. If little is known by the average person in this country about his own police service it can be said with even more confidence that he knows still less about the Canadian police (though he probably clings to the belief, almost wholly mistaken, that they are mounted).

The reader with some understanding of British police affairs will find a recognizable point of comparison—and perhaps amusing irony—in the statement that

> In Canada the criminal laws are defined as legislated by the Federal Government through Attorneys as representatives of the Provinces and yet the budget for enforcement for law in urban areas is a municipal responsibility.

That comment will touch a sensitive nerve in virtually every chief officer of police in Great Britain. One of the perennial problems of criminal legislation and penology is that financial provision for its implementation rarely, if ever, matches its good intentions and high principles.

It seems probable that the three most powerful influences upon any Canadian police chief, other than varying priorities resulting from financial inconsistency, are the attorneys-general of each province, the boards of commissioners to whom he is directly accountable and the Policemen's Benevolent Association. This is, in fact, a situation not unlike that of the policing of Victorian England, leaving aside, of course, the technical and other devices common to modern police forces in both England and Canada.

The book offers no picture of the machinery, if any, which defines the relationship between the federal government, the boards of commissioners and the Benevolent Association. Nor does it specifically state whether there is any tendency to uniformity by machinery for federal or provincial consultation. Clearly each chief police officer operates in greater isolation than in Britain, is subject to far stronger political pressures and is less able to draw strength and support from his fellow chief officers through collective association.

In Canada municipal councils or local boards of commissioners select chief officers of police, and their choice appears to be unfettered by statutory qualifications or governmental approval. It is clear that the choice is generally from local officers, from former members of the RCMP or, exceptionally, from candidates from other municipal forces. The author has some critical things to say about the unsatisfactory standards of education, intellectual capacity and managerial flexibility of candidates generally. It is also clear that the boards of commissioners exercise precisely the same kind of political influence and control over police policies and discretion as that exercised by watch committees in British cities and boroughs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

There seems to be no tendency towards standardization of organization and policy, towards extension of the influence of central or federal government or furtherance of shared or common services to improve selection, training, operational effectiveness and fitness for higher command, all of which have been so noteworthy a development of British policing since the early 1960s. Indeed, perhaps the most helpful way to review this book for British readers is to give a brief account of the situation here for comparative purposes.

Police forces in England and Wales have been reduced in number from 125 to forty-three in a decade. For consultative purposes they have three staff associations, chief officers, superintendents and the federation of all lower ranks. Each force has its consultative machinery, the chief officers having regional consultations in addition. They are represented on the Police Council for Great Britain which includes representatives of local police authorities and central government. The cost of each force is initially rate-borne, but half is refunded by the Exchequer, subject to compliance with regulations for the government of almost every aspect of police activity made by the Home Secretary on the recommendation of the Police Council.

The regulations govern conditions of appointment, promotion, pay, leave, discipline and so on, and ensure basic national uniformity while allowing some regional or local flexibility. The Exchequer grant is dependent also on a satisfactory annual inspection of each force by the central government. This uniformity makes it possible to establish common services, such as those I have mentioned, without impairing the autonomy of the constituent forces.

One of the most important of these is the police college at Bramshill, which offers the opportunity by qualifying examination and impartial selection for accelerated promotion, scholarships to many universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, and training for intermediate and higher command. Through this and other means the service has now about 120 graduates, most with practical experience, and its prospects for leadership in the future are better than they have ever been.

None of this development has undermined or weakened the independence of the English and Welsh police from political interference in their operational role, that unique difference which is essential to their status and acceptability to all sections of public opinion. Chief officers and their deputies are appointed by local police authorities consisting of magistrates and local authority representatives, but the posts must be advertised, candidates must be professionally qualified, and the approval of the Secretary of State is necessary for each appointment.

So far as checks on policy and the allocation of resources are concerned, these are largely effected by the measures of consultation, cooperation, inspection and financial control that I have mentioned. The Director of Public Prosecutions has, of course, an overriding authority with respect to all prosecutions and exercises a wise and persuasive influence in the direction of uniformity. But his participation is only required by law in a very small proportion of cases. Perhaps the most persuasive influence for the good is the accountability of all chief officers through their respective police authorities to the Home Secretary and to Parliament. The effect of the parliamentary question, the vigilance of the press and the influence of public opinion cannot be underestimated in their contribution to the achievement of a balance in policing which is reasonably effective while being highly accountable.

All this is not to criticize the Canadian police system or Professor Grosman's book. It is simply to emphasize the point that in a free society the police service can only reflect the constitutional, social and even the geographical setting in which it must operate.

I would not like anything I have said to be interpreted as a devaluation, by a professional policeman, of Professor Grosman's study. On the contrary, I think he shows an admirable and percipient appreciation of the problems of police command in Canada. So much so that I can think of no more sincere compliment than that by exchange fellowship or by some other means an author of such intellectual capacity and clarity of expression should be afforded the opportunity to spend a year or so examining the British police system for comparative purposes. Such an undertaking could serve the police of both Britain and Canada well.

My Sister, Isak Dinesen

Thomas Dinesen, V.C.

Translated by **Joan Tate**

Karen Blixen—alias Isak Dinesen—won world renown with her *Seven Gothic Tales* and *Out of Africa*. Now, forty years on, and with the aid of her prolific correspondence, her brother lifts the veil on the broken marriage and loneliness of her years in Africa.

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Custody and the alternatives

By Roger Hood

LOUIS BLOM-COOPER :

Progress in Penal Reform

Oxford : Clarendon Press : Oxford University Press. £4.50.

In recent years we have entered, to use Sir Rupert Cross's apt phrase, an era of penological pessimism. Even the most unworldly judges no longer tell young men that it is their good fortune to be eligible to receive the benefits of public training at borstal. Pleas by the Howard League and other reformers to replace short prison sentences by periods long enough to give the authorities time to train a man for freedom" have been replaced by pleas to shorten sentences as far as is compatible with the protection of the public. Prisons, it is now claimed, should be reserved for those who are unquestionably a public danger and the community is urged to learn to deal tolerantly with the bulk of criminals through non-custodial measures.

Two main factors have led inexorably to this conclusion. The post-war rise in convictions has continued to outstrip the proportional increase in the use of imprisonment by both judges and magistrates and led to severe overcrowding of already outdated prisons, not to mention a vast drain on public expenditure. Concurrently there has been a continuous decline in the success rates of even the most treatment-orientated institutions and a stream of research findings almost all of which have demonstrated that whatever supposed improvements are made in penal regimes the rates of reconviction remain much the same. Above all there has been no evidence that the length of time a prisoner spends in custody is related to his chances of avoiding further convictions.

In the light of such a gloomy outlook, what direction should penal policy now take? Louis Blom-Cooper, that indefatigable and articulate campaigner for penal reform and chairman of the Howard League, has gathered together, in *Progress in Penal Reform*, a lively set of twenty controversial essays all dealing with various aspects of this theme.

A strong warning about the dangers of assuming that reforms inevitably lead to progress in the treatment of offenders is the theme of Noel McLachlan's interesting sketch of some of the major changes in penal ideas in the past hundred and fifty years. Far from changes being inspired by a conception of progress, he claims, they were very largely "a mistake, a blind alley into which the British Government wandered so much through short-sighted financial and political expediency as from any considered penal philosophy". Looking back, for example, on the unerring advocacy of the separate system of confinement by William Tallack, the founder of the Howard Association and its first secretary from 1886 to 1901, he is forced to conclude "not all penal reform is enlightened, nor all penal reformers invariably wise".

How then are we to evaluate plans for penal change? The historical lesson is that reforms can only be understood in the light of their contemporary ideology, the perceived state of crime and the nature of public reaction. Today, differences of view on penal policy are as strongly rooted in ideology as ever. This is cleverly illustrated in the essay by Gordon Hawkins, who compares the attack on "reformist penology" made by Rupert Cross in this country with the damning criticism contained in *Struggle for Justice*, published by the American Friends Service Committee in 1971. While both agree that a sentence of imprisonment cannot be justified on the assumption that it will reform the prisoner, the arguments they put forward are quite different. Professor Cross's position is based on a review of the empirical evidence—if prisons did reform he would not, I think, oppose their use for that end. On the other hand the American Quakers are opposed in principle to reformative treatment, arguing that it is a coercive means for one social group to enforce their values on others. Indeed one of their main worries is precisely that new techniques might actually make it possible drastically to modify behaviour. They are in favour of punishment which is related to the seriousness of the offence, not to any conception of the offenders' needs or future behaviour. Their concern, they say, is for justice, not correction. While Professor Hawkins himself comes to no clear conclusion on this issue, it poses a fundamental challenge to the approach taken by Dr Blom-Cooper and many of his associates in this book.

All the contributors share the view that custodial sentences are too long and are too frequently imposed, and that more effort should be made to devise non-custodial alternatives. The question is how this should be achieved. Quite naturally Dr Blom-Cooper's own views, and those of Gordon Trasler and W. R. Stirling who signed with him the note of dissent to the Younger Report on Young Adult Offenders, have a particular prominence. Their idea, broadly speaking, is to extend to all offenders the system of criminal justice now in force for juveniles with the simple safeguard of limiting treatment to a period specified by the judge. This, they believe, would "turn the system on its head" so that custody would be used only for the dangerous and for others where necessary "as an aid to the control and supervision of offenders within the community . . . custody would be relevant only as part of a continuing programme of adjustment". Thus their new system would in general abolish the powers of the courts to decide the nature and degree of the control to be imposed. They would merely decide whether "social intervention" (as it is called) was required and fix a maximum period: the rest would be left to the executive authorities in charge of the day-to-day treatment and control of offenders. The authorities would decide whether the offender "needed" custody, how much of it and at what stage of the sentence.

This is not the place to repeat the criticisms I have already made of this blueprint; suffice it to say that many theoretical and practical problems are evaded or unresolved. For example, there is no attempt to define the elusive category of the "dangerous". We are also told that punishments cannot be equated with degree of responsibility and that the courts cannot know how much social intervention is required, so on what basis are the courts to decide the maximum period of the sentence? We are told frequently that penal treatment is an illusion and that attempts to allocate offenders to particular types of regime suited to their needs have proved a failure, and yet the question of whether a man has his liberty or not is to be left to the expert diagnosis of those whose task it is to "treat" him. And to counter the danger to individual liberty inherent in such procedures there is not even any guarantee that this peculiar combination of judicial sentencing and executive control will in the end reduce the time men actually spend in custody.

Dr Blom-Cooper argues that those who oppose this extension of executive control over the liberty of offenders are ignorant of penal practice. This is just not so. Indeed the opposite is nearer the truth. For example, the former head of California's adult authority which has almost complete control over the use of custody has recently trenchantly opposed the concept of executive control and pleaded for a return to definite sentences. The same approach is discussed in this book in a valuable description of contemporary European ideas by Norman Bishop. He notes, in particular, the movements in Denmark and Finland against all forms of indeterminate sentence and the recent proposals of the Finnish government committee to divorce completely the treatment from the coercive aspects of the penal system. Thus Nordic criminologists have argued that those who have power to offer treatment to offenders should not be in a position where they can affect their liberty should they refuse the help offered. They therefore suggest that control in the community should be exercised by the police and that selective parole and parole supervision by social workers should be abolished so that social service help would be offered and accepted voluntarily. From the United States a leading penologist, John Conrad, makes the same plea, stating categorically that

> acceptance of help should never be a condition of the disposition, nor should its success be a condition of the offender's release from control. . . . The system would no longer rely on specialised correctional services of supervision, counsel and control. Assistance would be obtained by referral to the professional and social resources of the community on the same terms as these resources are delivered to ordinary citizens.

Obviously such views are quite the opposite of Dr Blom-Cooper's and Professor Trasler's conception of an integrated team of correctional assessors, and challenge the assumptions of both community service orders and probation, whose recent developments are broadly reviewed in essays by Jeff Smith and Peter McNeal.

The problems posed by the tension between treatment and control are real enough. A number of contributors, in particular J. E. Thomas and Gavin Drewry, point to the power of officials and the weakness of parliamentary and other forms of external control over the penal process. What could be in store is vividly brought home in the essay by Dr Prewer of the Prison Medical Service who is not only exceptionally sanguine about the quality of its work but looking forward, it seems without qualms, to advances in hormonal implants, new forms of behaviour therapy and brain surgery. He concludes, ominously, "one thing is certain, medicine is going to play a larger part in both the treatment and control of those offenders who come into penal institutions, *be they many or be they few* [italics added]; and in this context it is suggested that treatment and control are merely two sides of the same coin". Who will call this progress?

But alternative ideas for reform of sentencing policy are also presented. A clear indication of how far judicial opinion might go with the Blom-Cooper formula is given by Lord Justice James. While he would welcome some extension of parole he clearly would not support the open-ended sentence of "social intervention". In fact he would want to reserve power to the courts to name a minimum period to be served in custody to ensure that the executive did not release some serious offenders too early. The problem, of course, is whether such a gentle approach would drastically reduce the time spent inside, for without any control over the policy of the courts, earlier release might simply be countered by longer sentences.

It is in relation to this problem that another judge, Sir Brian McKenna, has some interesting proposals. His line of argument follows that of the Dutch and Scandinavians, namely to reduce the tariff operated by the courts. He rightly argues that the present level of sentences is largely based on the assumption that specific periods are required in order to deter potential offenders. In ably reviewing the (admittedly meagre) empirical evidence, he notes that there is nothing to indicate that a marginal "x" months is likely to add to the general deterrent effect of a prison sentence. How many years, he asks, have been gratuitously added in the belief that they will reduce the general level of crime? It seems to me that if, as Sir Brian suggests, the judges could be persuaded to reduce the length of prison sentences, and if this could be combined with statutory early release under supervision for most prisoners after a third of their sentence, a greater reduction in the prison population would be achieved than by any other policy.

The other major theme raised in a number of essays is what is now called "diversion". Sir Arthur James favours a further step in investigating offenders' backgrounds by postponing sentence so that those with "social problems whose offences are committed because they have problems can be dealt with by non-penal treatment". Leaving aside the difficulties of defining the group—who should be excluded?—many who favour diversion hope that it may be done before conviction rather than afterwards. Nigel Walker in his provocative contribution advocates various ways of reducing what he calls the high "penal involvement rate". With so many citizens coming before the courts, he argues, there is a danger that a sizable element of the population may be alienated from the police. His solution is first to take some offences out of the criminal calendar, primarily possession of cannabis—"the worst thing for police-public relations since the invention of the motor-car"—second, to increase the number of offenders cautioned by the police instead of prosecuted. Professor Walker shows that a large number of first offenders are not cautioned and suggests that an extension of this policy would reduce the stigma attaching to conviction and enhance police-public relations, thus leaving the criminal courts to deal with the real criminals and ensure the support of the "more or less law-abiding". The idea has, of course, its attractive side but a thorough consideration of who ought to be subject to the criminal process and who given a caution by police grace is necessary if such an extension of discretion is not to degenerate into a biased system of law enforcement. Once again questions of justice come to the fore.

As Peter Nokes says in his discussion of the problem of evaluating the prison system, it is easier to criticize it than to establish an alternative that will meet general approval. Dr Blom-Cooper has done us a service in putting forward his programme for reform in such a stimulating way. But in view of what we have to learn from Scandinavian and American ideas and experience does the extension of executive control over the lives and liberty of offenders really herald progress?

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The place of parole

By A. E. Bottoms

PAULINE MORRIS and FARIDA BEVERLY:
On Licence
A Study of Parole
178pp. Chichester: Wiley. £6.

PAUL W. KEVE:
Prison Life and Human Worth
193pp. Minnesota University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £5.75.

Parole is much in the news. Early in August the Home Secretary announced that, in consultation with the Parole Board, he was proposing a liberalization of the present English practice so as to allow more and earlier parole. Coincidentally, on the day when the main consultation with the Parole Board took place, prisoners at Albany began a lengthy rooftop demonstration against various alleged injustices of the parole system. Away from the glare of publicity, British criminologists have for a year and more been engaged in serious debate on the theoretical justification for a parole system, a debate given considerable stimulus by the report, *Young Adult Offenders*, issued in 1974 by the Advisory Council on the Penal System.

Strictly speaking, a movable release date decided by an administrative authority in the light of "progress" during a prison sentence can only be fully justified if we are prepared to uphold one or both of two propositions: (a) that there are differential responses to prison treatment and training, that we can identify these, and that early release to supervision in the community will benefit those released, while the others require further treatment; and (b) that there are differential degrees of "dangerousness" (however we may define that concept), that these cannot be fully identified at the time of sentence but can be identified later, and the "safe" prisoners can then be released while the dangerous ones are retained.

Both these propositions, especially the first, have been seriously questioned in recent years, the main thrust of the criticism coming from the United States where indeterminate sentencing is the norm, and where almost every prisoner is released on parole rather than at the end of his maximum term.

In Britain, when parole was introduced eight years ago the determinate sentencing structure was retained; but it was decided that a prisoner becomes eligible for parole after one-third of his sentence or twelve months, whichever is the longer. The British system in particular poses a nice problem for the "liberal": he may well share the sceptic's doubts about "treatment" and "dangerousness" as concepts on which to found a parole system, but as a matter of political expediency he will know that it is easier to sell the idea of parole to politicians and judges than it is to move towards a system of shorter but definite sentences. So, to reduce prison terms, parole may be politically necessary even if theoretically indefensible.

On Licence, by Pauline Morris and Farida Beverly, is the first major empirical study of the English parole system to be published. It is based on research in two very different prisons—Stafford, with a predominantly youthful population of aggressive and of "non-systematic habitual property offenders"; and Ford, an open prison with predominantly older men, often white-collar workers convicted for the first time of fraud, etc. These very different populations make for useful comparisons throughout the book, and facilitate the development of a good typology of offenders which is used fruitfully in many of the analyses. But neither prison contains many long-term residents (the men were "mainly serving sentences of between two and three years"), so the book cannot speak to the emerging criticism by long-term prisoners—such as the demonstrators at Albany—that parole is in practice for short-term men only. This point heightens one's query as to why these two prisons were chosen, an issue on which the authors offer no enlightenment.

Morris and Beverly approach the research with three main assumptions: first, that adequate use of criminological theory must be made and that the research must not be merely predictive and statistical; secondly, that the process of making parole decisions, and the subsequent supervision of parolees, must be looked at from the viewpoint of all the various participants—prisoners, prison staff, paroling authority and parole supervisors; and thirdly, that to talk of "success" or "failure" of parole in terms of reconviction or recall tells us very little, and "parole should be evaluated as one part of the total penal process". These assumptions are admirable; but their detailed implementation in the research is rather flawed.

Criminological theory is used somewhat uncritically. In examining pre-prison experience in relation to post-release expectation the authors use the opportunity structure theory of R. K. Merton, Richard Cloward, and others. In considering the changing self-concept of the offender they use symbolic interactionism and the work of Walter Reckless. The institutional structure of the prison is analysed through the concept of prisonization, taken from the work of Donald Clemmer, who himself developed it from the concept of assimilation common in the Chicago sociology of the 1930s. The question of how these different theoretical approaches relate to one another is never considered. Thus, while their theoretical foci have led the authors to write important and interesting sections (e.g. on self-concept, and on the prisoners' expectations and ambitions) which could not have been written by less theoretically orientated research workers, nevertheless the promise of a unified theoretical approach is not fulfilled.

The promised multi-actor interactionist approach is also less than complete. The main focus is in fact on the prisoner himself, and successful parolees were interviewed as often as four times—at the time of parole eligibility, just before release, after three months, and after six months. It is a fair point to make (in the preface) that this emphasis on the offenders is justified "because their voice is so rarely heard when decisions are made regarding penal policy". But this policy justification is not a justification at the explanatory level. Elsewhere the authors say that "to focus upon only *one* actor may hinder an appreciation of the total situation, since a clear understanding of behaviour necessitates an examination of the motives of all concerned". It is hard to reconcile this statement with their research design, which meant interviewing prisoners four times, supervisors once, and prison staff and paroling authorities not at all in relation to the specific cases at issue (though generalized visits and observation were made).

Perhaps the authors' most strongly reiterated point is their insistence on seeing parole as part of the total penal system. In this of course they are right, since the links between parole and sentencing, parole and welfare ideology, and so on, have to be examined closely in a full assessment of any parole system. But this correct evaluative position leads them to a policy approach which must, in 1975, be considered unusual—especially as they indicate no awareness that their views will be regarded as controversial by liberals and humanitarians. What they suggest is a "much greater flexibility in relation to both the amount of time spent in custody and the amount spent under supervision . . . and the sole criterion for [parole] being granted should be the needs of the prisoners; if treatment programmes available in prison were really effective, such needs may be expected to coincide with the needs of society". To this end they suggest both the removal of the minimum period before parole eligibility, and the abolition of the present system of automatic remission whereby all English prisoners normally have one-third of their sentences remitted. They unconvincingly reject the argument that the latter proposal would lead to an extension of periods in custody.

All this would have been standard fare in the period of rehabilitative optimism of the 1960s, when treatment concepts on the medical model were much in vogue. But since then we have seen the massive disillusionment with the promises of the "treaters"—the repeated research demonstrating little treatment effect, the uncovering of the injustices suffered in the cause of treatment by allegedly "unreformed" men serving long sentences for trivial crimes, the documented arbitrariness of the decisions made by some paroling authorities, and so on. So we have the strong movements in America towards definite sentences, or, where parole remains for political reasons, the deliberate emasculation of the original parole concept by (as in the Federal system) the development of formal guidelines for release based solely on the nature of the crime and the prior history of the offender, and *not at all* on any alleged improvement or deterioration in prison. Of course a case for parole systems, and for more "integrated" systems on Morris-Beverly lines, can still be made despite all this: but such a case now requires much more careful argument than Morris and Beverly provide. What makes their final stance particularly curious is that they themselves provide a cogent analysis of the limitations of treatment in prison as applied to the six categories of their typology, at the end of which they correctly pose, but never answer, the question of the justification for the "expensive and time-consuming machinery" of the Parole Board.

The foregoing critical analysis should not deflect attention from the many solid virtues of this important book. At a technical methodological level, it is extremely impressive to have achieved four separate interviews with the parolees, with a response rate as high as 92 per cent at the final interview. This provides a longitudinal bank of data which is very fruitfully used at different points of the analysis. For example, interviews in prison showed a general sense of (often unjustified) optimism about the future achievement of "success" in different spheres; and a majority denied that they were "criminal". Yet many post-release problems were anticipated—particularly in the areas of work, finance and family, and including the problem of the stigma of criminality. Of these, all turned out to be actual problems to the prisoners to roughly the extent anticipated, except that of stigma, which was greatly exaggerated in anticipation. Linked to this, analysis of self-concept on a repertory grid showed in general a considerably improved self-concept after leaving prison—suggesting that the stigma of prisoner status does have important (if temporary) psychological effects, even though the unrealistically high aspirations expressed in prison might on a superficial analysis lead one to conclude otherwise. Analyses such as these have not previously been carried out with adult British prisoners, paroled or not, and they are important at several levels.

More mundanely, the research throws up several factual points of great interest to parole administrators. For example, less than half of those parolees at Stafford whose licence included a special "reside as approved" condition knew about this condition at a pre-release interview. Again, only half of those who had claimed in their parole dossier to have a job to go to on release actually took it up. More comfortingly for the administrator, as many as a third of those pre-prison associates "other criminals", made a ous effort to avoid such conta

But undoubtedly the best ch in *On Licence* is on the post-re supervisory experience, for here that the perceptions of pa and supervisors can be directly pared. This two-sided shows clearly a major failure communication. Usually the tion officer himself seeks to the parolee's situation and lems, often with scant regard what the man himself perceives relevant. Parolees on the hand usually define help in of relevance to current issues, of a severely practical nature, they tend to find the "talk" of by the officers meaningless. A tionally, in the parolee's per tive, the visit to his superv takes up little time, and is seen a thing apart, impinging little the real world of jobs, family etc. "The overwhelming imp sions . . . were of the irrelevance superficiality of supervision", the authors, and they conclude it is early release, rather than s vision, which usually provides benefit in parole. This is dire contrary to much of the offi rhetoric on parole, and it dema to be taken seriously by po makers.

A further crucial point concer the role of the supervisor. There a Home Office circular of 1968 (s incorporated into later circulars which—though unfortunately this not mentioned at all by these auth —lays down official guidelines the supervision of parolees. T circular implies that normally paro supervision is intended to be tight and more controlling than ordina probation supervision, and in part cular insists that the probation o cer should be "sufficiently closely touch to know the licensee's circu stances and where he may be conta ted at short notice." Yet in Morr and Beverly's sample, as in earlier unpublished study by Dav it seems that there was no gre intensity or pervasiveness of con with parolees than probation However, in one particular pro tion area there was greater intens and it would have been useful if organizational differences betw probation services could have be examined more closely.

The 1968 circular also insists th any deviations by parolees, oth than "technical or trivial" breac of conditions, be reported to Home Office. In this analysis, two of the twenty-one breaches condition (other than fur offences or the disappearance the parolee) were so reported, It is suggested that this is beca the probation officer's need for accommodative relationship w the parolee is greater than with the authorities. Once ag is indicated that there are differences in this respect, and is clear that a fuller and m specific study of probation offic use of discretion in their interpr tion of the 1968 circular would extremely interesting.

Any empirical research in pe logy runs the risk of being ou date by the time of publicat This is partially so with *On Licen* the Home Secretary's recent in tive seems likely to have impor effects on the parole system as have hitherto known it. Yet the increasing importance of pa under the Jenkins initiative, s of the issues raised in the boo such as the role of supervision— acquire increased importance, w the whole theoretical justifica for parole, not adequately with by Morris and Beverly, also become a more major issu

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471pp. Columbia University Press (AUPG).
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"Perception", which once meant seeing, and was studied by psychologists and philosophers, is now being extended by social scientists to mean "seeing" in a wider sense, to the way given social groups "see" particular forms of behaviour, i.e. the attitudes they hold about them. Attitudes, mostly American, towards different aspects of crime are studied in *Perception in Criminology*, a substantial reader edited by Richard L. Henshel and Robert A. Silverman. The charm as well as the advantage of the new perceptual approach is that it is concerned not so much with social data as with prevalent mythologies, and with comparing what societies believe to be the facts with what, where it can be established, actually are the facts. This has especially rich possibilities in criminology, an area of strong public feeling and embattled prejudice.

Perception in Criminology reprints some interesting papers on topics which deserve more attention than they usually get: Gary F. Jensen on "Perception of 'Payoff' and Criminal Activity"; Nigel Walker and Michael Argyle on "Does the Law Affect Moral Judgments?"; John Hogarth on "Magistrates' World Views and Sentencing Behaviour"; Richard Schwartz and Jerome Skolnik on "Two Studies of Legal Stigma"; Mary Owen Cameron on "Self-Perception and the Shoplifter". There is jargon in *Perception in Criminology* but not too much; the collection's overall effect is very strongly to humanize its subject-matter.

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The expanding curriculum

By W. R. Cornish

MARTIN L. FRIEDLAND (Editor):
Courts and Trials
A multidisciplinary approach
161pp. University of Toronto Press (Books Canada). £2.50.

L. C. GREEN:
Law and Society
501pp. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff. New York: Oceana Publications.

al education has long contained tral tension. There are those see it as a means of training tioners worthy of their procal monopolies and those for it is a form of social study ed by the central importance to the shaping and regulaf developed societies. In this the legal professions have retained control over the stages of admission to their Academic institutions (in the teaching of law has flourished for about a cenhave nevertheless given over of their energy to developing d of teaching that will equip young professional with the al knowledge that he will to make his way in the world. have perhaps operated on a what higher (though not necesy more efficient) plane than professional schools; but the in view has been much the However, over a long period, universities have developed cersubjects of a reflective, nonical character, partly under amorphous head of jurispruce and partly through comparand historical studies of law.

In the past fifteen years there been a determined attempt to den the approaches of academic y of the subject. In large sure this has been a reaction ainst the pedagogic sterility of ading students, mostly young inexperienced, with technical Good intentions have scarcely enough and some of the mentation has inevitably been thin in value. But the law schools have undoubtedly uired an intellectual liveliness new order from such activities functional studies, interdisciplin research and teaching, and al advice clinics.

Similar developments may be oben in several major law schools the British Commonwealth. *urts and Trials*, which is edited Martin L. Friedland, reproduces ries of lectures given at the versity of Toronto in 1972-73; mounts to a sample-book for s interdisciplinary studies in The lectures were all given non-lawyers and focused upon ing aspects of that nerveure of legal activity, the arbitral termination of disputes. The hus require varying measures of ceptual adjustment from the traditionally trained lawyer. The contributions by two political scientists, a philosopher and a historian, may usefully serve to enlarge his vision of the social role of legal processes, but their language is scarcely that of an alien world.

Particularly if he has been educated in a federation, where senior courts enter the arena of constitutional interpretation, he will find interest, but no great novelty, in Peter Russell's thoughtful assessment of the significance of judicial power in Canadian politics and in Donald Smiley's preference for legislative, rather than judicial, activism on questions of human rights. The same is true of Kenneth McNaught's analysis of "political trials" in terms of the predominantly conservative expectations of the judicial function in Canadian society.

The example of Socrates's trial for (in effect) blasphemy and sedition is the subject of a lecture by R. E. Allen, who draws its lessons with subtlety and force. He writes as a philosopher and classicist who is actively engaged in the teaching of jurisprudence. He is able therefore to surmount the great hurdle in all interdisciplinary work, that of showing a sufficient knowledge of the realm into which he is carrying his own expertise. The same can scarcely be said of Anatole Rapaport's "game theory" analysis of the adversary trial as an outwork of capitalist competition.

In other essays data are discussed against conceptual frameworks with which the lawyer may be less familiar. Anthony Doob modestly suggests that psychological experiment may have a limited, but useful role to play—particularly in the criminal trial. He takes by way of illustration two small-scale experiments in which he was involved.

More striking is Charles Hanly's discussion of the potential of psychoanalysis to elucidate the interplay of psychological relations between judge, jury and witnesses in criminal cases. He gives substance to his arguments by referring to events in the trial of Stephen Truscott, a cause for Canadian disquiet equivalent to the Evans and A6 murder cases here. British judges are generally complacent about the freedom with which they may indicate their own views in summing-up to the jury. A reading of this essay might suggest to them how their every phrase and slightest inflection may build up prejudice in their jurymen, possibly far beyond their own expectations.

Law and Society belongs to the older speculative tradition in legal education. It collects articles and papers by L. C. Green, a distinguished teacher whose interests have extended as widely as his peregrinations. In international law in particular his name is well known, and the bulk of these essays lie within this field. But they are fairly related to the general title of the book by their strong emphasis on the individual in international law, on his human rights, and, in particular, his right of asylum.

Even at his most general—in reflecting upon the jural nature of international law—Professor Green shows his preference for working answers to theoretical riddles, answers that will in practice allow notions of law to contribute to the more orderly conduct of international affairs. The author's most useful contribution, indeed, is in his collection and interrelation of practical data. His knowledge of legal events in various parts of the British Commonwealth, old and new, that have real jurisprudential interest is so extensive as to be almost unique. This gives some colour to an otherwise rather pallid view of the relation between law and morality. But its best employment comes in two essays on the application of English common law where the alternative of a local law or custom exists. Professor Green writes with hope for the future of Commonwealth jurisdictions where such conflicts of law arise. But the evidence of blind officiousness and unfeeling superiority in the past leave a disquieting impression. There is much about inherited traditions that needs to be forgotten.

Local variations

By Julius Lewin

LIAM CLIFFORD:
An Introduction to African Criminology
Oxford University Press.

the British legacies in Africa, has made a more lasting influthan the English common law. Westminster model constiwere hardly recognizable a after independence, in the courts no lawyer would feel a foreigner. The procedure, the and the precedents cited all be familiar; and this be truer of criminal law than any other branch of the

doubt this is explained in by the training African lawyers in Britain and even in their African law schools at the of expatriates like William His students were fortunthe opportunity to learn from her of such wide experience. er, he would be the first to that the problems facing law in the new states are pecuintractable. For the teacher first to introduce his class to law (and its background) then to show how it works in African context. This double is fraught with difficulty. Take, example, a case of homicide in the defendant pleads that he under the influence of a witchcraft. To constitute defence in criminal law, a misbelief must be reasonable. In ding whether a mistake of fact reasonable or not, the courts will apply the test of what a reasonable man would have done when acting under provocation or in self-defence. In England trial by jury ensures that twelve ordinary people will have to ask themselves whether they would have done what the defendant did.

In an African court without a jury, the judge alone must decide. In East Africa he may have come from another country because there is a shortage of Africans well qualified to sit on the bench and to take cognizance of facts or even fictions familiar to tribesmen in the area. Moreover, since there are scores of different tribes and languages, a custom observed in one place may be strange elsewhere. The courts have shown some reluctance to recognize that "what would appear reasonable to the ordinary man in the street in England" may well seem extra-ordinary to an illiterate African. The standard should surely be that of the ordinary man in the community to which the defendant belongs. Of course in the cities it is hard to know what standard, if any, to apply among people of mixed origins.

When the homicide is admitted or proved, the problem reduces itself to how to treat the prisoner who killed a woman whom he honestly believed to be a witch. Mr Clifford examines the problem in *An Introduction to African Criminology*:

> Africa has inherited its approach to the treatment of crime from its colonial era. Some prisons now standing were erected in the nineteenth century and the legal systems followed the colonizers as surely as Roman law followed the Legions. Similarly, treatment systems were European in origin and made few concessions to tribal traditions. Customary law was often retained but in the civil more than in the criminal sphere. Here justice often demanded a uniformity of treatment which could not always be guaranteed by local and often varied customs. Moreover, there were practices, such as the killing of witches, which could not be tolerated as a standard for the country as a whole or which were irreconcilable with the ethical and legal standards the colonizers were bringing with them.

In these days the range of crimes facing courts in Africa extends all the way from simple robbery (to which public executions provide no answer) to complex frauds and other sophisticated behaviour which it is commonplace to attribute to urbanization. Forty years ago the Bushe Commission declared that "the punishments sanctioned by all enlightened systems of jurisprudence are the most suitable" for East Africa. No doubt they are but, as Mr Clifford is well aware, no African government can afford to spend enough on training the men or providing the services required for progressive types of treatment. Accordingly, more prisons are built; for instance, four modern ones in the small state of Botswana in recent years.

Mr Clifford's book, stimulating though too concise, presents students with a variety of problems awaiting their attention. When they perceive how much needs doing to adapt English criminal law to its African social setting, they ought to go on to digest Robert Seidman's *Sourcebook of the Criminal Law of Africa* (1966) and they should not miss his brilliant article in the *Journal of Modern African Studies* in 1965, neither of which is cited by Mr Clifford

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BARRIE & JENKINS

Policing the police

By Maureen Cain

DONAL E. J. MACNAMARA and MARC RIEDEL (Editors):
Police: Perspectives, Problems, Prospects
161pp. Praeger Special Studies: distributed by Martin Robertson. £5.95.

A. J. P. BUTLER and B. H. SKITT:
In Service Training
31pp. The Police Federation. 10p.

These are by no means the two best books on the police to appear in the past twelve months. Both are primarily intended to be culled for useful tips by police administrators. There is little imaginative insight. The impression is given that there are no conceptual and few political problems in the field.

In *Police: Perspectives, Problems, Prospects* Donal E. J. MacNamara and Marc Riedel offer us sixteen papers, tenuously related but mostly addressing some form of the familiar and limited question of what can be done to control workers in the lower levels of bureaucracy. Adjacent papers contradict each other and there is no editorial attempt at synthesis: for example, George Kirkham's participant observation study of becoming a policeman undermines the optimism of Susan White on "controlling police behaviour"; Edward Fitzgerald's comments about police racial prejudice contradict Barbara Price's claim to have shattered this myth.

The corollary is that points are created where there are none. "This analysis is based on the premise that police conduct can be controlled by controlling the behavioural routines associated with the police role", states Miss White. This means, I suppose, that instances of behaviour can be controlled by controlling patterns of behaviour.

An attempt to reach the non-social scientist coupled with an apparent belief that conceptual rigour involves difficulty of presentation weakens this book. T. Barker and J. Roebuck's attempt to distinguish between an organization and its members fails because the basic conceptual analytic work has not been done. Precision is just as necessary in jargon-free writing as in technical discussion addressed to a trained readership.

I classified these papers into "so what", "useful", and "heard it all before" or "I know—I said it". Mostly they fell into the last two categories. W. Westley pointed out in 1951 that the police occupational structure generates typical malpractices, while in 1968 E. R. Stoddard coined the term "police deviancy", thus locating the problem in a more encompassing body of theory. Again, while it is amazing and admirable that three sociologists were allowed to interview policemen during a "campus disturbance", the account of this not only starts with the old saw about the study being exploratory rather than real (in the trade this legitimates inadequacy), but also drones on to the inevitable conclusions about sense of danger, importance of solidarity, and pervasiveness and cohesiveness of the occupational culture. Conor Brady on the Garda Siochana says nothing new about the effects of urbanization, Lawrence Sheman's work on policing the police is far less helpful than W. Black's history of the New York Civilian Complaints Review Board (1970), and Charles Wellford's attempt at a theory of police-engendered crime is heavy-handed.

The "so what" category is epitomized by D. Chappell and J. C. Meyer's cross-cultural attitude study, in which the lack of regard for definitional questions is inevitably most marked. What could have been a useful discussion of the FBI also falls under this heading, together with A. K. McDougall's potted kings-and-battles history of the Ontario police.

Now to the hidden gems, semi-precious perhaps, but gleaming the brighter for their context. Mr Kirkham's competent account has already been mentioned. B. Cohen's study, jointly commissioned by opposing sides in a law-suit, of racial bias in police qualifying examinations, exposes the need for a deeper look at cultural assumptions rather than the more usual superficial search for "prejudiced attitudes". Even so, what is new is not so much the study as the request for it to be done.

Again, perhaps, it will come as no surprise to learn that women who finally make it professionally have really exceptional leadership qualities compared with male colleagues. This should be as much an argument for tightening male promotion procedures as for removing a few of the obstacles facing women. Feminists should not fall into the trap of rejoicing because women police executives turn out to score higher on verbal aggression than men: whose tune are we dancing to, that this should be a quality so highly prized?

Last and best is Michael K[...]'s discussion of "violence and cr[ime] in a suburban milieu". He argues that a small number of aggressive men are tolerated even in an essentially non-violent milieu despite official opposition to their methods and an unofficial view that they go too far". These men, he [says], create an essentially ambiguous ambience for police-community contacts. Their colleagues, taking advantage of this uncertainty in the public mind, can afford to be genuine rather than instrumental in their conciliatory approaches. They need run no risk of sparking off a reciprocal spiral of violence. According to this view, peace-keeping and conciliation, the very best kind of policing, is fundamentally dependent on violence; violent men in a force which deprecates violence are not just tolerated, but have a [ter]rific charisma.

There is less to be said about *In Service Training*. The training suggestions made by A. J. P. Butler and B. H. Skitt are sound—short daily stints rather than a couple of weeks every five years, and operationally relevant training achieved by personnel moving regularly in and out of training departments, line managers taking the sessions, and all ranks contributing to the formulation of the syllabus. This, a sound, unpretentious piece of work, in which any beliefs about the value of theory are well tempered by an experience which recognizes the anti-academic bias of British policemen.

Down among the dossers

By Laurie Taylor

TIM COOK:
Vagrant Alcoholics
189pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £4.95.

There is one question left unanswered at the end of *Vagrant Alcoholics*, Tim Cook's comprehensive account of the Alcoholics Recovery Project in South London. Why did he and his co-workers care so much in the first place? How did they persuade themselves that they could really do something about those groups of ragged men who sat drinking cider and meths in the parks of Southwark?

No one else seemed to share their optimism. The alcoholic dosser was right at the bottom of the social-work barrel, certainly an unpromising, and perhaps even an undeserving, case. So although probation officers and social workers saw a few homeless drunks from time to time, none of them (at least in South London) had any social responsibility for their welfare. (Not enough time or resources, they complained.) The doctors were not too keen to have them cluttering up the hospitals or the emergency psychiatric clinics. (They were always more likely to be touched for ten bob than involved in some meaningful therapeutic discourse.) The clergy did their best but most felt that the vagrants were only interested in money and did not really want to solve their problems. (So it was usually a case of sandwiches and a quick cup of tea at the back door.) Meanwhile the police pulled them in whenever they got up the public's nose too much, and the magistrates dutifully fined them or sent them to jail, sometimes with an accompanying moral sermon—"You're one of those people who lounge around doing nothing, living off honest people in this country."

Mr Cook is too modest about the work of the project to suggest that the situation has now improved in any significant way. The parks of Southwark still have their groups of drunken men, and if the unemployment situation gets no better, then there will be more in the coming years, for most of these men have only drifted down to skid row after years of hard labouring on hydro-electric schemes or motorways. But at least he and his co-workers have demonstrated that some can be helped if enough time, energy and thought is devoted to their problems.

The hostel at Rathcoole House, which formed the basis for the project, had a shaky start. For the first eighteen months the staff seemed to be doing little but coping with the alcoholic relapses of their tenants. As Mr Cook observes with customary frankness: "It was to be expected; it was exhausting; it was even on occasions fun, but what on earth was it meant to be showing?" It was only when the residents and staff agreed by a unanimous vote that there should be a strict no-drinking rule in the house that matters improved. Gradually the residents took responsibility for their own affairs, until eventually Rathcoole and a second house were being run with only one non-resident member of staff.

This notion of giving responsibility—breaking the "handout" chain to which the men were accustomed—was continued in the "shop-front" idea. The project workers simply found themselves a place in the middle of the dossers' territory—usually a church crypt or vestry—and waited for the men to come and talk. When they arrived they got a cup of tea (which they made themselves) and, if they wanted it, some advice about where to get accommodation or medical treatment. The fact that some of those handing out the advice were ex-alcoholic dossers made it easier to take. The list of referrals suggests that many men who would not otherwise have been reached received some real help as a result of dropping by for a sit, a chat and a cuppa. No handouts, it's true, but then neither was there any waiting around for a one-sided chat with an official.

There is nothing self-satisfied about this progress report. But on the basis of the modest successes reported here, Mr Cook seems justified in calling for more hostels for homeless single persons on the Rathcoole model, for more schemes which involve the men as active participants, for more shop-front developments which put help where it is needed.

It is to be hoped that this project team will continue to be self-critical. The signs are promising. Research into effectiveness has always gone on alongside the work itself: a researcher was even sent to live with the dossers themselves for a year. It would have been valuable to have heard more about this work (a rather sketchy report is given) but it is very refreshing to find a social-work project which actually sends someone to stand at the receiving end of its services.

So while we do not learn why Mr Cook and his colleagues took on such an apparently dead-end project in the first place, it is not difficult to see why they now continue. They have successfully shown that at least some alcoholic dossers can be brought back from the edge of delirium tremens, from absolute degradation and near-death. In face of the previous helplessness surrounding the situation, that is a considerable achievement—quite enough to suggest that the project deserves renewed financial and political support.

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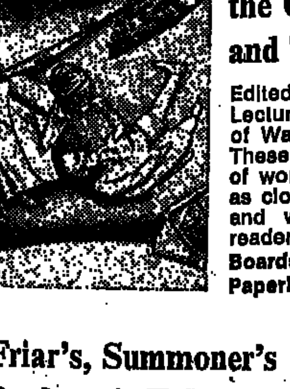

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Some thoughts on the politics of criminology

By Terence Morris

[...] had the means of ascertaining correctly the amount and [...] of crime in the several [...] of the world, and all [...] circumstances of their social [...]ion, we should be able, by [com]parison, to ascribe to each [circum]stance its relative power [of] inducement to crime and [...] at the laws which regulate [mor]ality.

[...] optimistic estimate of the [possib]ilities of criminological [...] is to be found in a paper [...] by R. W. Rawson before a [...] of the British Association [...] August 27, 1839. Allowing for [...] in prose style, the sentiment has persisted to the present [...] underlying a great many of [...] endeavours subsumed under [the] category of research into the [...] of crime.

[In] many respects the English-speaking peoples have been doers [rather] than thinkers, makers of [...]ry and empire rather than [...] trading in ideas; and [this] has certainly been the case in [the fie]ld of crime and punishment. [...] Bentham found it necessary [to des]cribe his Panopticon design [for a] penitentiary as a "Mill for [grinding] rogues honest and idle [...] industrious". British penology [in t]he nineteenth century was [essent]ially practical; it rejected [...] and wholesale capital punishment on utilitarian [rathe]r than humanitarian grounds. [...] presumed rationality on [the pa]rt of the offender. Criminological research was left to the Con[tinent]al professors, and in spite of [...] respectability among those [...] of the medical profession [who] had an interest in forensic [...], criminology had no substantial academic base until the [arriva]l of émigrés from the Con[tinent] at the time of Hitler's perse[cution].

[It wa]s not until after the Second [World] War that these early foundations were built upon, in London [by H]ermann Mannheim, in Oxford [by Ma]x Grunhüt, and in Cambridge [by] Leon Radzinowicz. Some [...] of these post-war years of [devel]opment is to be found in the [fest]schrift devoted to Sir Leon, [...] was published last year [unde]r the title *Crime, Criminology [and] Public Policy*. The great [Crimin]al Justice Act of 1948 had [made] provision for the first time [for m]oney to be spent on research [into] the "causes of crime and [treat]ment of offenders", although [at th]e time the sum was only a [...]ly £12,000 per annum. The [money] did not begin to flow until [...] and then only slowly. In 1957 [the T]reasury approved the establishment of the Home Office [Rese]arch Unit. Two years later, in [...] the Institute of Criminology [was] established in Cambridge.

[It] is fascinating to speculate [what] might have happened to criminology had the first director of [the] Institute and Wolfson's profes[sor] been other than Sir Leon; his [...]ational personality and individual dynamism not only put the [Cambr]idge Institute on the map [but ga]ve the subject a respectabi[lity in] establishment circles that [would] have been unlikely had the [...] been set up outside [...]. Yet if the Cambridge In[stitute] flourished and the Home [Office Re]search Unit continued to [...], research in other universities [remain]ed comparatively limited in [...] resources and personnel. [...] (which Cambridge and [...]ce men have always con[sidered a] canard) became established [tha]t the Cambridge Institute [was] an extension of the Home [Office] Unit. In fact the Home [Office] had collaborated with many [...] university researchers and [...] probably given them in aggre[gate] more money, but the biennial [confer]ences on teaching and [rese]arch by the banks of a summer [Cam] have probably done much to [rein]force the myth.

[It] would make tedious reading to [list] all the researches, completed [or] incomplete, published and in [manu]script, that have emerged in [...] criminology in the past [...] years, but there is a con[tinuou]s thread that runs through [the] vast majority of them. It is [the e]ssential empiricism which has characterized intellectual inquiry in our culture since the end of the seventeenth century and which underwent near petrification as a result of Utilitarianism in the nineteenth. The fundamental question to be asked is: "What practical use will the results have?" It is still asked of intending researchers whether they are applying to the Home Office for money, or merely for permission to have access to institutions, records, or other situations in which to conduct their work. T. S. Lodge, formerly director of research and statistics, sets out the criteria in his contribution to the Radzinowicz festschrift; there is a double test, of the integrity and competence of the researcher, and of the likely utility of the results.

At first sight there seems nothing so unreasonable in this, yet there is a vitally important point that cannot be overlooked, namely the extent to which the Home Office is able to act as an arbiter of what kind of research may or may not be conducted. As Mr Lodge puts it:

> It usually happens that facilities are refused to postgraduate students whose object is only to complete a higher degree: at all events, applications that might come into this category are especially scrutinized and if facilities are given at all, they are given to the supervisor.

It is not known how many research students have been refused facilities, but having a reputable supervisor is important. Indeed, it might be said that no small part of a supervisor's task is to facilitate work by maintaining good public relations with Home Office officials. Certainly there are situations where supervision is crucial to the researcher even if he is beyond the postgraduate stage; I myself when holding a university lectureship (with published work and a PhD in the background) still had to have my credentials underwritten in order to conduct research into the sensitive area of the prison.

It would be unfair to suggest that the Home Office sets a stony face against all research students; what troubles its collective psyche is the way in which some researchers tend to write up their material in polemical terms in contrast to the supposed "neutrality" of the genuinely "scientific" statement of research results. This was well illustrated in the affair of the Durham Prison research conducted by Stan Cohen and Laurie Taylor, published in 1972 as *Psychological Survival*. Both held university teaching posts when they began their work with an educational class in Durham's top security wing. Their access to the prison had not been through the orthodox channels of research application, but they kept the Home Office informed of what they were about once they had begun. The result was one of the most impressive and perceptive studies of the regime for maximum security prisoners, not least because it was based to a great extent upon the prisoners' own self-analysis. The manuscript lay a long time inside the Prison Department, and eventually the authors went ahead with publication without official approval, thus rendering themselves technically liable for prosecution under the Official Secrets Acts. But since the Franks Committee had recommended the reform of the Acts it seemed unlikely that a prosecution would follow. What did follow was a distinct coolness in relations with the researchers who wanted to follow their men up in other prisons. After some backstage negotiations it seemed at last they they could proceed, but then, according to Mr Cohen and Mr Taylor's published account in *New Society*, access was subjected to such restrictions as to make it no longer worthwhile to persevere, and they returned the grant which they had received from the Social Science Research Council for the purpose.

There is, of course, much more to the "Durham Story", but the principle it illustrates is important. Where a government department has control over access to research situations and restricts access in terms of its own criteria then it can control knowledge. It has never, so far as is known, suppressed anything derived from the work of its own research unit, but then that unit has seldom applied itself to studies of the more controversial aspects of the penal system. But there have been some sticky moments in dealing with university researches. When, in 1969, Parliament was about to enter into the final debate on capital punishment, it had been the intention of the Legal Research Unit at Bedford College to publish its research report on homicide at the same time as the Home Office brought out its own publication on murder. The researches had been conducted in tandem, using the same data, but employing different methods of analysis. The conclusions to be drawn from both were broadly identical: there was no evidence that the death penalty had any significant effect upon the murder rate. But because it was believed that to present Parliament with two reports which differed in method would be to confuse the issue, the Home Office felt unable to give its *nihil obstat* to the university report. Copies of the report might have completed their journey to the college incinerator had not *The Daily Telegraph* been given a somewhat less than accurate account of the story by an unknown informant. Within twenty-four hours the Home Secretary had made a statement in the House that there was no truth in the rumour that his department had suppressed an independent report, and copies were in the hands of peers and MPs that night. The inference which would otherwise have been drawn was that an abolitionist government was bent on suppressing evidence that might be in favour of retention.

Not all such moments come so close to the political nerve ends, but there are situations, nevertheless, in which approval for publication is not automatic. My own experience with the publication of *Pentonville: A Sociological Study of an English Prison* (1963) was such that at one time it looked as if it might be stillborn. The original manuscript contained detailed references to events in the prison, including those at the time of an execution, with which some officials were rather less than happy in that having had no publicity at the time it was feared they might become the subject of "difficult" questions in Parliament. But though certain emendations were made the work was published, not least because of the generous open-mindedness of the then chairman of the Prison Commission. In the event there were no awkward questions in the House and the only people visibly upset were a few prison officers who had read about the book in the press, certain sections of which were decidedly less than balanced in their accounts.

But what of all the research that has been "useful" and written up in acceptably objective terms, as opposed to that which has been more controversial? Certainly Hermann Mannheim and L. T. Wilkins's *Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training* (1955) provided a useful aid to the process of borstal classification. It was, following the tradition of all prediction studies, an attempt, in Rawson's words, "to ascribe to each circumstance its relative power of inducement to crime", in that it enabled borstal boys to be classified into different categories of risk in relation to their reconviction. It did not, on the other hand, make any suggestions as to *how* borstal boys might be handled, and it did not question the existence of the borstal system itself.

Many of the studies which have been "useful" have been concerned with examining how various kinds of penal treatment work; some, like F. H. McClintock and A. E. Bottoms's *Criminals Coming of Age* (1973) have been detailed and extensive in their analysis of

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experimental regimes. Yet there is not much evidence to suggest that the findings of such researches have had any great impact on the course of penal policy; they have produced little more than reconsiderations of some of its minor aspects. It could, of course, be argued that where the initiative lies with Parliament the findings of research make not the least impact. Certainly at the time of the capital punishment debate in 1969 everything pointed to members arguing on the basis of their own feelings about the subject; either it was right to go on hanging people or it was wrong. The abolitionists would have been no more deflected from their beliefs by evidence suggesting that the death penalty was a deterrent than the retentionists were impressed by the fact that all the evidence pointed to there being no discernible connexion between the imposition of the death penalty and the murder rate.

When, in 1971, Sir Leon Radzinowicz wrote in the foreword to Richard Sparks's *Local Prisons: The Crisis in the English Penal System* that "The prison system is passing through a grave crisis. . . . Things will get much worse before they get slightly better", he was prophetically right. In spite of such palliatives as the parole system and suspended sentences, things in 1975 are very much worse, indeed in terms of overcrowding things have *never* been worse. Dr Sparks, who was one of the ablest and probably the most controversial criminologist working at the Cambridge Institute in Sir Leon's time, had perceived that the penological era that had begun with the Gladstone Report of 1895 had probably come to an end with the publication of the Home Office booklet *People in Prison* in 1969; the objective of keeping as many offenders as possible out of prison was no longer realistic. But more than that, Dr Sparks was among the first to note that the character of the prison population was changing. As more alternatives to custody are devised, so the prison population comes to consist of men who have a greater familiarity with crime and penal institutions. As prison is increasingly reserved for those with previous convictions, the population becomes notionally more incorrigible and the problem of devising a successful prison regime more intractable. He found that the resident population of the local prisons, taking short-termers, comprised inadequate petty offenders—seldom if ever "dangerous"—chiefly to be distinguished "by their inability to obtain any better conditions in which to be punished". Dr Sparks's book ought to have been of the kind that made a major impact upon the course of thinking about penal policy; instead of piercing the armour plating of the Prison Department it glanced off and sank in the sea of research publications.

It is interesting and instructive to compare the position of Dr Sparks with that of Mr Cohen and Mr Taylor. The latter came to do their research if not by stealth then at least by way of the back door, but the same cannot be said of Dr Sparks, whose original brief was from the Royal Commission on the Penal System in 1966. (This commission made history by being the only Royal Commission in this century to wind itself up after realizing the impossibility of its task.) Mr Cohen and Mr Taylor might be dismissed as radicals whose intellectual habitat was the National Deviancy Conference rather than the Cambridge Institute, but Dr Sparks, for all his acid directness, was fundamentally "kosher" so far as his academic base was concerned, as an assistant director of research at Cambridge. Yet Dr Sparks was not able to make any more impact upon the direction of Prison Department policy than Mr Cohen and Mr Taylor have been, although each in their way has made fundamental observations about the nature of the prison system. The conditions of life for men in long-term maximum security do not improve and remain in many respects worse than they were twenty years ago. In 1971 Dr Sparks asked why there was no urban open prison in England, as opposed to those in rural surroundings. In 1975 there is still no open urban prison, and those in rural areas are being closed down as fewer and fewer of those received into prison are classified as fit for open conditions.

There is another category of research which might be deemed "useful", not directly concerned with the treatment of offenders but rather with the "causes of crime". The continuing thread here has been no less empirical and distinctly positivistic. The complaint of the "new criminologists" has been uttered often enough, but one ought not to allow the tedium of its Marxist orientation to dull the senses to its essential importance. The researchers in the positivist tradition seek continuously for a Holy Grail—the criteria which distinguish the criminal from the non-criminal. Unconcerned about the moral nature of man they search for the factors which are associated with criminality. For H. J. Eysenck, whom Ian Taylor Walton and Jock Young in *The New Criminology* (1973) identify as the most worthy modern successor to Lombroso, it is conditioning rather than wickedness that is relevant. One can, after all, devise measures of response and conditioning in a psychological laboratory, while it is less easy to construct a scale of wickedness without laying oneself open to the charge of dedication to subjective value judgment. But positivism *must* deny the moral nature of man, and here the new criminologists make common cause with Christians like C. S. Lewis whose essay "The Humanitarian Theory of Punishment" (1948) identified a treatment ideology based upon positivistic conceptions as the very basis of tyranny.

Yet positivism has a respectability in British criminology that seems almost impossible to dent, let alone negate. Each issue of the *British Journal of Criminology* reinforces that respectability, which is all the more impregnable because of its avowed liberalism. The Home Secretary's own Advisory Council on the Penal System is riddled with positivistic thinking, productive of reports that appear to be eminently humane. If Lewis had lived to read its latest report on young offenders (1974), he would have seen how far men of sensitivity and humanity can unwittingly tread that primrose path which leads, in the penological world, to the Californian adjustment centre and the Soviet psychiatric prison.

The younger generation of British criminologists tend if anything to eschew the label of criminologist altogether, and it is not difficult to see why they do, since they are for the most part radical critics, not merely of contemporary society but of what they see as an intellectual conspiracy that serves only to preserve the status quo. Yet perhaps conspiracy is too strong a word to use; rather it may be that those who are already troubled by what they perceive to be a growing social malaise are reluctant to espouse a critical approach that seems on the face of it to carry still further the erosion of an existing social order. Yet it would be wrong to suppose that the "new" criminologists associated with the National Deviancy Conference are a homogeneous group any more than Mr Taylor Walton and Mr Young's *Critical Criminology* is representative of any other than those who have contributed to it as an anthology of neo-Marxist observations upon crime and criminology. They are even dissatisfied with what they term "exposé" criminology, that which seeks to emphasize the dimensions of the white-collar crimes of the socially privileged and the differentially advantageous treatment they receive when convicted. Yet "exposé criminology"—which has been developed to a far greater extent in the United States—and which has usefully emphasized the inequalities that have crept into the system of criminal justice, is still regarded with some suspicion among those who would have the discipline remain "objective" and socially neutral.

When the development of criminology in Britain was under discussion twenty years ago there were sceptics who doubted whether it would have very much to offer for those who had to make and administer penal policy. In some ways the sceptics were right, but for the wrong reasons. In the empirical-positivist tradition the supporters of criminology saw it as providing answers based not upon opinion but upon factual data. They had confidence that the social sciences held the key to progress. Yet we are no nearer to knowing the causes of crime than we ever were, for no global theory has emerged. True, we may know much more about the conditions associated with crime, and very much more about the processes whereby individuals become identified as criminals. Explorations in this direction are, however, on dangerous frontier territory, in that they tend generally to lead in the direction of perceiving crime as a political as well as a social phenomenon. Phenomenological research *pace* Aaron Cicourel on the social organization of juvenile justice is not likely to score high on the scale of "usefulness". The field has been sown not with a single crop but a variety of seeds and it has, in consequence, borne a varied harvest. Some has been garnered in, part has been left to rot. Certainly the dream of successive generations of academic criminologists being willing and cheerful collaborators with government and those concerned with the administration and formulation of penal policy has been shattered. It was inevitable that it would be, once a new generation of social scientists had awoken to the realities of their responsibility in a harsh and basically inequitable society.

What the next twenty years will show is by no means certain, but it seems not unlikely that there will be a growing rift between the sociologists of deviance working in the academic context and the civil servants pursuing their researches into how this, that, or the other penal measure works. If it grows it will be a pity because it will isolate not only those who have both power and responsibility, but those who could, when they can be persuaded to set aside for a while their extremism, make a useful contribution in the shape of ideas. If Mr Lodge can refer to postgraduate students "whose object is only to complete a higher degree", one might be no less derisory about researches by civil servants whose object is only to provide data for the implementation of some policy that seeks a temporizing solution to a fundamental problem. The question, for example, "What are prisons for?" is no less important than that which asks "Where shall we build a new prison and for how many inmates?" While social scientists are docile they can reasonably expect the welcome mat in Whitehall; when they are contentious they would do well to anticipate the cold shoulder, but they should at the same time understand some of the political realities of government, not least that no one there is going to thank them when they suggest that the emperor has no clothes.

Miscalculated risks

By Charles Rycroft

ANTHONY HOLDEN:
The St Albans Poisoner
The Life and Crimes of Graham Young
160pp. Hodder and Stoughton. £2.75.

In July 1962 Graham Young, then a fourteen-year-old Neasden schoolboy, was convicted at the Old Bailey of the malicious administration of poison to his father, sister and a schoolfriend, and committed to Broadmoor Hospital under a restriction order which stated that he must not be released without the express authority of the Home Secretary for a period of fifteen years. During the trial, evidence was presented which makes it reasonably certain that he had also poisoned his stepmother, who had died of "natural causes" earlier in the year, and psychiatric opinion had been expressed that he did not suffer from any mental illness amenable to treatment and was likely to repeat the performance if he ever again had the opportunity to do so.

Nine years later, however, Graham Young was released from Broadmoor, and in June 1972 he was found guilty of murdering two of his workmates and of administering poison to four others. In *The St Albans Poisoner* Anthony Holden, who at the time of the second poisonings and trial was a reporter on the Hemel Hempstead *Evening Echo*, has presented a clear, detailed and vivid account of Graham Young's life, personality, crimes and trials—and of the numerous errors of judgment and administrative failures and inadequacies which made it possible for Young to go on a poisoning spree for a second time.

As *The Sunday Times* said at the time—and Mr Holden seems to agree—"The Young affair is probably best seen as one of those cases where, in a humane system, everything that could go wrong did so." In the event the psychiatrists at Broadmoor proved to be wildly over-optimistic in their assessment of Young's "improvement" and to have mistaken dissimulation for maturation; and the Home Office seem to have dealt with the application for his premature release as a routine matter and to have accepted the recommendation of the Broadmoor psychiatrists without question. His employers—quite correctly, given the then existing rules governing the rehabilitation of ex-prisoners—were not informed by the after-care authorities that Young had ever been at Broadmoor, let alone why; all they knew was that he had "suffered a deep-going personality disorder which necessitated his hospitalization throughout the whole of his adolescence". When Young moved from a training centre at Slough to a job at Hemel Hempstead, the psychiatrists at Broadmoor lost contact with him and the Hertfordshire police were not informed of his arrival in their area. When he wanted poison he found little difficulty in evading the Dangerous Drugs Act and in getting it under an assumed name; and the possibility of poisoning never occurred to any of the various doctors who treated his victims, which is hardly surprising in view of its presumable rarity, of the fact that forensic medicine occupies only a minute place in British medical education, and furthermore that Young used thallium, a poison not, so far as is known, previously used for that purpose in this country.

This tragedy of errors might, it seems, have continued indefinitely and have led to more deaths than it did, had it not been for something in Young's personality which compelled him to draw attention to himself. At a meeting held at his work to discuss the mysterious epidemic which was afflicting his workmates, he pressed the possibility of thallium poisoning and in doing so revealed an indecent knowledge of toxicology which cast immediate suspicion on himself. Perhaps the only protection that society has against people like Young, who are actuated by motives entirely alien to the majority of mankind and whose behaviour evokes incredulity rather than suspicion, is ultimately that they are arrogant and vain and want public recognition for their misdeeds, and are therefore bound eventually to give themselves away. As Mr Holden's account of Young's personality makes clear, the psychological basis and origins of psychopathic callousness remain entirely obscure, and one of the reasons why a person like Young can get away with what he does is that his family, friends and colleagues cannot conceive that anyone could be doing what he is doing, and as a result fail to put two and two together.

The Young case was, hardly surprisingly, seized upon as an indictment of progressive, liberal attitudes towards criminals and the mentally ill. But, as Mr Holden persuasively argues, what emerges as weaknesses in a unique case like Young's are otherwise the system's very strengths. The humaneness which in the handling of Young cost lives has in other contexts saved many more. And a society which was so organized as to make careers like Young's absolutely impossible would also be unbearably regimented and restrictive.

Rogues' gallery

By C. H. Rolph

CLIVE BORRELL and BRIAN CASHINELLA:
Crime in Britain Today
Routledge and Kegan Paul.

It must not be held against the authors that the publishers describe their hard-hitting book, *Crime in Britain Today*, as "this dossier of a nation on the fiddle". But Clive Borrell and Brian Cashinella, as dyed-in-the-wool crime reporters, do commit themselves as early as page 1 to the statement that Britain is regarded abroad as "a nation of villains, with getting caught the greatest crime of all". (Do you recognize yourselves?) Moreover, on the same introductory page they report the discovery of a "dangerous section of the community which insists that the criminal is more deserving of help and understanding than his victim". And on page 25 they say that "it is no longer unusual" (ie, it is now usual) "for our peaceful suburbs, even rustic country areas [*sic*], to suddenly erupt into a battleground. This mindless violence and motiveless aggression is fast becoming the sickness which is undermining the social health of Britain".

Heigh-ho, so off we go again—another hard-line polemic against the do-gooders, a plea for the return of flogging and hanging? It is nothing of the sort. Instead it develops as a plain man's view of the efficacy of punishment, an understandably bewildered view, with some skilfully told tales of recent crime: the train robbery, the Krays and the Richardsons, the Angry Brigade, Poulson (here is a brilliantly condensed account of a complicated, boring and wretched story) and the terrorist outrages by which we are kept informed of contemporary boundary disputes.

Because, unavoidably, all crime reporters become professional Cassandras deploring the source of their livelihood, here too is much overstatement based on the *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales* (that treacherous and constantly underpinned foundation), and on the confident public jeremiads of judges, politicians, policemen and other publicists. And none of the latter, even when attributed, is given a time, date or place. There is not even an index, essential though that is to a book of such a kind.

The authors are not afraid to give Sir Robert Mark their whole-hearted support in his attack on what they see as the "let's-try-and-get-away-with-it" attitude of "a growing group of lawyers":

> To watch and listen to some of them propose wholly outrageous excuses and arguments for their clients, in criminal trials especially, often makes the individual observer wonder whether in fact these highly-paid advocates should not be standing in the dock themselves.

So if their book could reach a public as vast as the commissioner's television audience they would be hearing from the lawyers. And I suppose the lawyers would tell them that there is no such enactment as "the Cinematograph and Indecent Displays Act", of which they give a full and approving account as though it were the law of the land—it died, as a Bill, in 1974; that there is no system of police cautioning for violent female offenders after "a formal interview conducted by an officer of at least Superintendent rank"; and that, whatever may be wrong with the law of conspiracy, it is not "the muddle-headed way legislators and lawyers have chosen to interpret it".

Nevertheless Mr Borrell and Mr Cashinella, both journalists whose long experience, most unusually, has barely dimmed their idealism, have written an interesting and provocative book.

Reading's gaols

By Giles Playfair

PETER SOUTHERTON:
The Story of a Prison
Reading: Osprey. £3.

Peter Southerton has not been content to tell the story of Reading's various penal institutions over the centuries. He has also wished to use it as proof of the great advance that has taken place in the whole country's penal policy. In a brief foreword to *The Story of a Prison*, Lord Wolfenden glowingly records its success. "What admits of no argument", Lord Wolfenden concludes, "is the progress in conscience, understanding and humanity which the local and individual facts of Mr Southerton's book so vividly demonstrate."

Actually, a single, centrally administered prison system has been in existence for less than a hundred years. In 1877, the Government took control of all the local jails, including Reading's, responsibility for which had previously been vested in the justices. A prison commission was set up under the chairmanship of Edmund Du Cane, and for the next nineteen years a terroristic policy was pursued.

This policy was eventually found by Parliament to have failed in the one thing a prison service is supposed to do, namely to repress crime. Today, despite a much-vaunted admixture of rehabilitative with deterrent measures, it is still failing in the same purpose, as the vast and increasing number of convicted prisoners amply demonstrates. That much, whatever the answer to it may be, clearly "admits of no argument".

However, the question of whether there has been any genuine and long-term liberalization of penal practice would seem to admit of considerable argument. At Reading, which is now reserved for the socially inadequate type of prisoner, there has undoubtedly been a significant shift from the idea of mere punishment towards reform, though Mr Southerton admits that the "earthenware WC" which each cell contained when the prison was originally built in 1844 (and modelled on the "model" prison of Pentonville) is now "sadly lacking even in the most modern prison buildings".

But what of the thousands sleeping two or three to a cell built for one in other nineteenth-century prisons? What of the thousands, including the unconvicted and legally innocent prisoners, who are obliged to spend twenty-three hours out of every twenty-four under these appallingly cramped conditions? Should they thank their lucky stars that penal practice has been liberalized?

And, by contrast, what happened, for example, to the Churchill rule of 1910 which authorized the prison commissioners to treat any prisoner as a first-class misdemeanant whose offence did not involve "dishonesty, cruelty, indecency or serious violence"? What happened, for that matter, to the concept of first-class imprisonment? Why wasn't Pat Arrowsmith treated with as much consideration as W. T. Stead, who had a furnished room at Holloway, made out of two cells, and was free to eat whatever he pleased? The answer to all these questions is the same: administrative convenience, no matter at what cost to fairness.

It is, of course, perfectly possible to find brutalities in the post-1877 penal system, which even those (a probable majority of the population) who favour the restoration of the cat and the rope would no longer find tolerable. Still worse brutalities existed when there was a variety of different penal systems under local government. But there were also instances of reformative experiments ahead of anything that is being tried today.

Still, if Mr Southerton has failed to prove that the prison system as a whole is (in his own words) pursuing more enthusiastically and whole-heartedly than at any time in the past its declared primary purpose of encouraging and assisting convicted prisoners "to lead a good and useful life", that is because he has set himself an impossible task. Nor does it alter the value of the bulk of his book, which is excellently researched local history.

The soft cell

By Sean McConville

J. E. HALL WILLIAMS:
Changing Prisons
210pp. Peter Owen. £5.

DENNIE BRIGGS:
In Place of Prison
155pp. Temple Smith. £3.50 (paperback, £1.90).

Few areas of public policy and administration have generated greater hopes, unleashed more potent energies, and provided more devastating disappointments than criminal justice and the penal system. The treatment of criminals must somewhere tap a deep spring of anxiety and hope in our culture. The vision of transforming the fallen, punishing the wicked and safeguarding the fabric and order of society appeals directly to Christian cosmology, and to optimistic and pessimistic elements in humanism. Penal administration has offered anew to each generation for the past 200 years the promise of tangible spiritual, personal and social revival. *Changing Prisons* and *In Place of Prison* reflect well the main characteristics of our approach to penal reform and administration, giving an insight which is particularly timely in this period of uncertainty, transition and fluidity. Their sharply differing perspectives and styles serve to illustrate the inevitable range and complexity of penological debate.

J. E. Hall Williams has established a high reputation for comprehensive coverage, clarity and keeping a cool head in the heat of penological contention. *Changing Prisons*, which takes account of the numerous changes since the publication of *The English Penal System in Transition*, meets these expectations in full and provides an exceptionally useful textbook. It is probably the most accomplished introduction to the English prison system since Lionel Fox published his definitive *English Prison and Borstal System* in 1952.

Mr Hall Williams draws maximum advantage from his extensive personal acquaintanceship with the system and his enviable familiarity and ease in handling official publications of all kinds. He covers in accurate detail all the aspects of penal policy and administration that could be expected of a single volume; from current population pressures, physical constraints and official aspirations to the effects of sentencing, the parole scheme, and prisoners' rights within the system. En route, he fairly but mercilessly demolishes some reform proposals and gives critical encouragement to others.

His description of the current central dilemma in penal policy—humane containment versus treatment and training—is compact and accurate, even though his rejection of the former is not as well supported by argument as one might wish. Almost alone among recent writers on penal matters he pays full and proper attention to the crucial issue of staff recruitment, training and deployment, but he lets himself be carried away when he declares:

> The single major reform most needed in the penal system is a better system of promotion for all grades of staff, but particularly for the governor grades, and the assurance that staff assigned to a particular job in an institution may remain long enough to make an impact and see it through.

Although it has strengths sufficient to commend to all those concerned with the study and practice of penal administration, the book also has substantial flaws. The greatest of these is its general approach, which although critical and fair-minded, emphasizes too strongly the administrative complexity and difficulty of introducing change. At times, and in combination with his often repeated approval of the energy and integrity of the Prison Department, this could leave Mr Hall Williams open to accusations of supplying rationalizations for inertia, and of failing to consider adequately some basic and inescapable moral issues in penal policy. Although it occupies only a few lines, his discussion of the controversial hormone treatment of sexual offenders is indicative of this weakness and is remarkably complacent. Another, less important, weakness lies beyond Mr Hall Williams's control: detailed treatment of such a mass of information makes for a rather heavyweight and unstimulating text.

If, as it is widely held, these are times of pessimism and retreat from all but the most modest of penal ambitions, Dennie Briggs is out of place. The central premise of *In Place of Prison*—that prison has failed to deter or reform criminals—is conventional enough, but his belief that the main task confronting penal policy in the last quarter of the century is the emptying of all prisons is much less so. This book is a polemical review of a great variety of non-custodial measures, ranging from the Californian probation subsidy scheme through the Manhattan diversion programme, by way of a description of the wholesale closure of the Massachusetts youth prisons. Mr Briggs endorses such existing British practices and institutions as the community service order, the therapeutic community and various voluntary hostel schemes, and would like to see their use and influence extended.

However, Mr Briggs does not sufficiently acknowledge that prison has functions over and above treatment and training which non-custodial measures cannot adequately perform. It might be imagined that the experience of prison is so drastic, so destructive in human terms, that Mr Briggs cannot but be on sound ground when he proposes his new liquidationist penal policy. But there are formidable objections—some raised almost incidentally (but not dealt with) by Mr Briggs himself. He describes the means by which the Russians seem to have succeeded in closing some youth prisons:

> Greater supervision in the community, enlisting the support of family, neighbours, shopkeepers, school officials and the local police . . . to control delinquency once it is detected in young people. Whether or not one approves, this form of social control is an alternative to imprisonment.

But the last question is surely the key philosophical issue that must be settled before crusades for a vast expansion of non-custodial measures begin. To what extent do we wish to reduce the rate of imprisonment (or indeed crime) if the cost of so doing involves the dispersal into the broader community of means of surveillance and forms of authority relations which are now concentrated in and around custodial institutions?

Mr Briggs has been powerfully influenced by the American New Careers Movement and by the concept of the therapeutic community—notions of offenders gaining self-awareness and psychological growth by helping other offenders and the disadvantaged generally. He is enthusiastic and detailed in his accounts; he is also infuriatingly uncritical and organizationally impractical. Obviously not an adherent of the cyclical view of penal history, he can describe the broken hopes of the Californian "New Penology" of the 1950s and 1960s, and yet fail to apply the lesson of caution and yet more caution to his own nostrums.

But this brings us back to the beginning. Where Mr Hall Williams is disinterested, balanced and conventional, Mr Briggs is full of fervour, partisan and organizationally nonconformist. Their styles reflect the difference between them—one low-key, carefully structured and impersonal, the other emotional, rambling and anecdotal. Yet one cannot help but feel that academic unkindnesses are inappropriate in an assessment of *In Place of Prison*. This is an unashamedly propagandist document, and the ideas and personalities of individual commentators have been powerful forces in shaping penal history. The strengths of Mr Hall Williams and Mr Briggs do not complement each other; their weaknesses—excessive temperance and intolerant passion—are powerfully complementary in the analysis of penal policy and administration. The absence of these opposite qualities in penological discourse would undoubtedly be dangerous. Times and moods change, and most of us still cannot decide whether Disraeli was right when he claimed that "Man is only truly great when he acts from the passions". But certainly Mr Briggs and Mr Hall Williams are prey to no such indecisions.

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MULLER

The kinds of policeman

By P. J. Stead

GEORGE L. MOSSE (Editor):
Police Forces in History
333pp. Sage. £5 (paperback £2.50).

The variety of police forces and police problems exhibited in George L. Mosse's collection of papers, *Police Forces in History*, suggests that some taxonomical consideration may be helpful in relating police administration to the lines and forms of its development.

The late Charles Reith found two main orders of police, which he called "kin-police" and "ruler-appointed police". The former he associated with the system which the Anglo-Saxons derived from the customs of their Germanic forebears, where the primary responsibility for peace-maintenance and the apprehension of law-breakers rests upon the local community; the latter he associated with the Roman imperial model, where police are provided and directed by central government. Reith's distinction, applied to modern policing, would classify, say, the French system as "ruler-appointed" and the United States system as "kin-police", with the French civil and *gendarme* police forces under their respective ministries at national level, and the vast number of American police forces operating under state, city, county and township control.

This oversimplifies the position. It is not fair to classify the French police under the same heading as the police of a totalitarian state, where the police are also ruler-appointed but act as the executive arm of government in a way which the police of liberal democracy, where the service is under the rule of law, binding upon government and governed alike, are not empowered to act. And in the United States the principle of local authority for policing is not universal. In addition to the multifarious local police forces there are also several investigative agencies with federal jurisdiction, marshalled in powerful, nation-wide networks directed from Washington as firmly—in some instances more firmly — as the national police forces are administered from Paris. Moreover, who could say that Reith's prime exemplar of "kin-police" can be found in Britain today, where the hand of central government has been tightening its grip on a fast-diminishing number of local police forces for over a century? The most favourable approximation that can be made now to the "kin-police" formula has to be expressed in terms of a partnership between local police authorities, local police chiefs and their forces, and the Secretary of State for Home Affairs and his bureaucracy.

It should also be borne in mind that Britain has two major police models: the "home" and the "colonial". If the "home" variety was exported to America, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere to sink tenacious roots, a very different style was developed in Asia and Africa (and nearer home, in Ireland), "ruler-appointed" indeed, and with a military style that has generally survived since the countries concerned became independent (the Irish Republic is a notable exception). The *gendarmerie* which France extended into her European spheres of influence under the First Empire and to her own colonies overseas has something in common with the police systems which Britain set up in her former empire. It is interesting to note that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police also use their French name of *Gendarmerie Royale* (Canada has, of course, also a strong tradition of provincial and municipal policing), but a *gendarmerie* is classically part of an army, and British police, whether armed or unarmed, whatever their style, have normally functioned under the control of the civil power.

The word "police" has been and is still used to express very different ideas. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries English people used the term in a sense which would have been better understood by a Roman emperor or by Louis XIV than by their modern descendants, and much of that sense still exists in continental Europe, where "police" means not only the personnel of the force but also a great deal of the internal regulation of the country. Thus we may find police officers across the Channel engaged in many activities, such as "economic" police, the issue of passports and driving licences, matters of public hygiene, which in England would fall to other agencies of central and local administration. At the totalitarian extreme, the police role is all-pervasive and all-powerful.

The editor of *Police Forces in History* can be absolved of the parochialism which so often characterizes books on police. The papers he has brought together tackle their themes in the contexts of France, tsarist Russia, Turkey, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Palestine, Germany, Canada and the United States. The published aim of the book is to constitute a "Reader in Twentieth Century History" but this has been liberally interpreted, and the felicity of Rayner Heppenstall's essay on Balzac's policemen and the lively account by W. R. Morrison of the Northwest Mounted Police's work in the Klondike Gold Rush make ample amends for falling outside this period.

Two of the papers straddle the boundary. Glen W. Swanson gives an interesting account of the Ottoman police from early times to 1917 and Richard J. Johnson of the tsarist political police operations in Europe against exiles and émigrés.

J. J. Tobias's paper on police and public in the United Kingdom shows a keen awareness of the general lines of police development which is reflected in his discussion of the police situation in Great Britain and Ireland. This is a useful contribution to the establishment of police typology. Tom Bowden's two papers show British police problems in the context of violence: the triumph of the "Irish Underground" in 1919 and the protracted struggle to maintain order in Palestine under the Mandate. Each provides an object lesson on the difficulties of policing in times of radical political change.

The most substantial proportion of the papers covers German police affairs in the period 1919-45. Here again the question of politics arises. It has been said that if the police had been strong enough the Weimar Republic would have survived, but it is more likely that if the Weimar Republic had been strong enough in terms of public confidence its police would never have lost control of the streets.

James F. Richardson contributes a valuable review of Hsi-huey Liang's pioneering *The Berlin Police Force in the Weimar Republic* (1970), drawing comparisons between the Berlin police and the police of American municipalities. This is complemented by Eric D. Kohler's cogent assessment of the performance of the *Schutzpolizei* in the two years before the Reich took over the government of Prussia in July 1932, especially as regards the attitude taken by the Schupo officer corps. Hitler's personal security is discussed in two papers by Peter Hoffmann, one reviewing the security arrangements, the other making a case-study of Maurice Bavaud's pre-war attempt to kill the Führer. Both papers show the difficulties of giving full-time protection to an assassination target and indicate that Hitler had a lot of luck as far as would-be assassins were concerned. The German papers are completed by a pair of sound and informative treatments of the *Sicherheitsdienst*. George C. Browder analyses the SD and Lawrence D. Stokes writes an appreciation of Otto Ohlendorf's SD stewardship, showing the troubles that arise when a service attempts to provide objective social, political and economic intelligence to a tyrant. Having put students of German police and security history thus far in its debt, it is a pity that the book includes nothing about German police reform in the post-war years.

There are two papers on the United States. Cyril D. Robinson studies the relations of police and city politics in the Chicago setting and finds that the police are used "to shield the mayor from responsibility for problems arising out of long-time neglect of city problems". He argues a spirited case but does not, perhaps, sufficiently allow for the fact that some such burden is borne almost everywhere by the police. They are the most visible representatives of authority and as such are inevitably cast as scapegoats for poor social policies and bad laws.

The growth of American "police professionalism" in the 1920s and 1930s is examined by Nathan Douthit, who concludes that a major influence in this direction was such key public inquiries as the Chicago Crime Commission (1919), the National Crime Commission (1925), the Wickersham Commission of 1929 and the Attorney General's Conference on Crime (1934). These gatherings focused attention on the quality of the police service. Dr Douthit also pays tribute to the influence of the late J. Edgar Hoover, though he does not fully exploit the effect that an educated corps of investigators had upon their contemporaries in law-enforcement. Mention might also have been made of the impulse to professional reform at this time which was coming from within the municipal police forces, where enlightened police chiefs, the best known of whom is the late August Vollmer, were moving towards professionalization.

57 varieties of Bormann

By Heinrich Fraenkel

LADISLAS FARAGO:
Aftermath
Martin Bormann and the Fourth Reich
479pp. Hodder and Stoughton. £4.50.

I consider it most regrettable that highly reputable publishers (in this country as well as in the United States and Germany) should have insisted on publishing *Aftermath*, even though for more than two years now we have had irrefutable proof of two facts. Fact number one: much of Ladislas Farago's "documentary evidence" (and all of it so far as it concerns Martin Bormann's alleged post-war activities in South America) is based on forgeries now openly admitted by the forgers. Fact number two: Since the discovery of Bormann's skull on December 7, 1972, and its painstakingly thorough identification there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that Bormann took poison on May 2, 1945. All the relevant German authorities in Frankfurt, Berlin and Bonn have confirmed it and the Bormann case has been officially closed since January 1973.

For Mr Farago to stick to his melodramatic story of meeting "Bormann" in a secret hide-out in Southern Bolivia in 1973 would seem to indicate an almost unbelievable degree of credulity. As a matter of fact, Juan José Velasco and some of his helpmates have, meanwhile, admitted to having diddled Mr Farago and the *Daily Express* with masses of forgeries; and they have certainly shown a sense of humour in selling the German weekly *Der Stern* some further "documentary evidence". It cost only a few hundred dollars and, using all the proper letterheads, stamps and signatures, provides "documentary" proof that Bormann is, indeed, alive, nowadays hiding under the alias of a Hungarian-born journalist by the name of Ladislas Farago.

As long ago as 1965 *Stern* reporter Jochen von Lang spent many months in Berlin thoroughly investigating the last days in the "Führer-Bunker" and the final escape of about a dozen prominent Nazis, all but two of whom survived. Most of them, such as Naumann, Axmann, Schwaegermann, are still alive.

The only casualties of the mass-escape were Bormann and L. Stumpfegger, an SS physician whom Himmler had planted in the bunker to keep a wary eye on Professor Morell, Hitler's favourite medico, and his vast array of pills and injections. Bormann had decided to try to make his way to Ploen to join Doenitz, and Stumpfegger went with him. The others included Goebbels's adjutant, Schwaegermann, and his secretary of state, Dr Naumann, as well as Axmann, who was Schirach's successor as Reich Youth leader, and his adjutant, Weltzin, also Hitler's pilot and two of the secretaries. They were all arrested by Russian soldiers, but managed to get themselves released at about 4 a m on May 3. A few minutes later, passing the Weidendamm bridge (near Lehrter Bahnhof) they saw Bormann's and Stumpfegger's bodies lying on their backs. As they were not wounded it was evident (and later proved by splinters of glass) that they had bitten the cyanide capsules carried by every prominent Nazi since Hitler distributed them solemnly like medals.

While Jochen von Lang's 1965 researches had unearthed Stumpfegger's skull, identified by dental and other evidence beyond the shadow of a doubt, there was merely circumstantial evidence, albeit in abundance, about Bormann's death with Stumpfegger. The corpse was missing. Hence the recurrent sensations of an alleged "Bormann" —altogether fifty-seven of them discovered and soon enough disproved; usually in South America, but not forgetting the somewhat notorious General Gehlen's authoritative statement (unburdened by evidence) that Bormann had been a Russian spy even in the declining years of the Third Reich, and that he was serving the Soviet government in a top-secret capacity.

Ironically, it was just about the time when the *Daily Express* sensationalized Farago's melodramatic story about Bormann's alleged adventures in South America that the skull was found some twenty yards from where Stumpfegger's had been unearthed seven years earlier. It happened at 12.30 on December 7, 1972, that road-worker Willi Stein knocked his pneumatic drill against what he thought to be a gas pipe. His mate Frieso helped with a spade and about three feet down they found a skeleton. Their orders were to inform the police; the proper authorities were brought in, and very careful investigations were made. Some identification was provided by dental technician Fritz Echtmann, erstwhile assistant of the late Professor Blaschke who had been Bormann's dentist. Moreover, the skull had an indentation over the right eye socket, precisely where Bormann had a substantial scar after an almost fatal motor accident. Finally, the place was well remembered by Albert Krumnow who had buried Bormann's and Stumpfegger's corpses on May 8, six days after their death.

In view of the significance of dental evidence a more prominent expert than Echtmann was brought in, Reidar F. Sognnaes, MA, MS, PhD, DMD. Mr Farago quotes the careful professor as having stated in a BBC interview on April 12, 1973, that he couldn't be quite as sure then about Bormann's teeth as he was about Hitler's. A year later he had no more doubts, and dealt with the matter in a presentation of the evidence before the world congress of the *Fédération Dentaire Internationale* in London on September 10, 1974. The findings are summarized in considerable technical detail in a paper of twenty-seven pages, concluding:

(1) there is adequate qualitative and quantitative concurrence between ante-mortem and post-mortem data; (2) that the forensic identification of Martin Bormann can be considered established; and hence (3) that Bormann, in fact, did die, apparently a suicide, without being able to flee Berlin when the Russian forces entered the city in May, 1945. It may be further concluded that reports of postwar travels and residences of a living Bormann in other countries—however believably promulgated—must have resulted from mistaken identifications. Bormann is dead. His remains unearthed in Berlin have been identified through a forensic analysis of all existing ante-mortem and postmortem dental data.

It seems to me that the publishers of this loquacious and pretentious book should ask their author what he has to say now about his sources.

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Styles of salvation

By Bryan Wilson

ROY WALLIS (Editor):
Sectarianism
Analyses of Religious and Non-Religious Sects
pp. Peter Owen. £4.75.

Sects were once an easily exploited subject for writers seeking to earn royalties and entertain blasé readers with exotic and bizarre material. Today, they are a serious field of study for sociologists, and although the groups discussed in *Sectarianism* are among the most exotic—the Unified Family, Krishna Consciousness, the Aetherius Society—these essays constitute a significant addition to analysis and theory.

This contribution is most evident in two essays by Roy Wallis, and in James Beckford's paper on sect organization. There is a convergence in their thinking, which seeks to redress somewhat the balance of attention in the study of sects between ideology and organization. Mr Wallis takes up the designations *sect* and *cult*, suggesting that the difference between them is the individualism tolerated by cults, and their acceptance of alternative or manifold sources of legitimate belief. The sect, he asserts, typically claims the uniqueness of its offer of salvation, and thus tends to be authoritarian. Sects know what heresy is: cults make no claim to absolute truth, and lack a test of orthodoxy and heresy. The sect has boundaries, and to be a member demands commitment to true belief: the cult has no boundary, drawing together any who are even mildly interested.

These distinctions would be no more than convenient definitions, were Mr Wallis not able to use them to excellent purpose in showing that some movements begin as cults but gradually, as doctrine is defined and a source of authoritative teaching is established, become sectarian. In two—perhaps too brief—sketches, he illustrates the process, in the Brotherhood of the New Life (of Thomas Lake Harris) and in the Point Loma Community of Theosophists (under Katherine Tingley). He might have demonstrated his case even more cogently by Christian Science, and he will no doubt do so in his forthcoming study of dianetics and Scientology.

Mr Wallis includes an essay on Scientology—an acutely perceptive analysis of the source of public hostility to this movement. Without defending scientological ideas, he undertakes a clever piece of sociological sleuthing, showing how the public's uncertainties escalated into fear and hostility. One need not believe that what Mr Wallis calls "moral panic" is always without justification (in this or in other cases) to acknowledge the cogency of his argument, since the counterpoint may always be made that when a society loses the capacity for moral panic it may also have lost the capacity for genuine moral concern.

Mr Beckford contrasts the organizational structures of two proselytizing movements, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Unified Family, to illustrate that contemporary religion may be more than mere privatized religiosity. In sects, if not in churches, religion cannot be understood without due attention to organization.

Comparison of modern communes with the nineteenth-century communitarian Shakers leads John Whitworth, in the most eloquently written of these essays, to conclude that today's communes have less prospect of survival. Unlike the Shakers, modern communalists are all too often merely taking yet another "trip", in the knowledge that if this fails there is much else yet to try. The evidence gathered by Francine Daner from converts and ex-devotees of the Krishna Consciousness cult confirms this point, revealing the continuity between the drug trip, from which so many Krishna people have been "saved", and the appeal of Krishna Consciousness itself.

The need for intense and even authoritarian group life by former participants in the drug culture is evident in the therapeutic groups, or Concept Houses, discussed by Barry Sugarman. These communities remain uncertain about their functions, and oscillate between the model of the rehabilitation centre and that of the utopian community —this latter choice having already been unequivocally made by Synanon. The choice for the therapeutic groups, Recovery, Inc, and Neurotics Nomine, reviewed by R. K. Jones, is less severe—rehabilitation or re-education—but even in these groups elements of ritual, dogma, and even of local charismatic leadership occur, and they sometimes become sect-like in suggesting that they alone can provide their clientele with an understanding of the meaning of life.

Political sects may also fulfil some of the functions of religious sects, according to Roger O'Toole, providing occasions for self-expression as much as for political action. The two Toronto socialist groups in his study are, in spite of their democratic claims and world-changing ideologies, merely closed fellowships of the like-minded, self-selected elites of very exclusive brethren indeed.

The spokesmen for silence

By Peter Hebblethwaite

PATRICK HART (Editor):
Thomas Merton, Monk
A Monastic Tribute
pp. Hodder and Stoughton. £3.50

Thomas Merton was and remains the best-known monk of the twentieth century. He owed his fame somewhat paradoxically to an autobiography, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, in which he said farewell to the world. Evelyn Waugh, invited to give advice on the English edition, pruned it by a fifth, turned the portrait of an artist as a young man into pure spiritual autobiography, and provided a new title, *Elected Silence*. That too proved to be paradoxical, for Merton's choice of Cistercian silence—deepened from 1965 when he became a hermit *sui generis*—did not prevent a stream of writings in which he described in contemporary language the rugged path of contemplation. In the 1960s he welcomed the growing interest in Eastern mysticism, wrote a book called *Zen and the Birds of Appetite*, and went on a long-planned, much-resisted journey to the East to dialogue with Buddhist monks. He never returned. He was electrocuted by an electric fan on December 10, 1968, at the age of fifty-three.

An air of mystery surrounded his last months. Rumours were rife that he was thinking of leaving the Cistercians. *Thomas Merton, Monk*, a collection of essays by fellow monks (and two nuns), dismisses these reports as calumnies; but at the same time it shows why Merton could so easily be misunderstood by those who did not know him well. He was impatient with fools. He could denounce what he most loved. He did not aim at consistency. His idea of becoming a hermit had roused strong and ignorant opposition. He talked freely of "the banal monotonies of ... unimaginative ecclesiastical bureaucracy". But one has to peer hard between the lines of these monastic tributes to discover the Merton who could be impetuous and outrageous. Cosiness predominates. In the Abbey of Gethsemani he was known as "Uncle Louie" and recognized as a valuable piece of property, though his old abbot and sparring partner is here produced to say he reports that he kept Merton chained to his typewriter to earn money for the Abbey.

Yet monks remain privileged guides to Merton's thought, for he was essentially a monk, though an unusual one. As Dom Leclercq says: "At the heart of everything he said was his vocation, his monastic experience. He saw everything through a monk's eyes." But he was a monk who could communicate. He believed in the profound irrelevance of the monastic life. The monk was a "marginal" man, wholly dedicated to a certain "quality of life". He is concerned with being not doing, faith not works. Merton defined the contemplative characteristically as "he who has risked his mind in the desert beyond language where God is encountered in the nakedness of pure trust". His goodbye to the world was not flight or mere refusal, but a rejection of "all standards of judgment which imply attachment to a history of delusion, egoism and sin".

This brought him back, by a detour, to political commitment. If the monastic life is of its nature non-violent and non-assertive, then it will lead to a protest against injustice and tyranny. Merton became a prominent figure in the campaign against the Vietnam War. Within the Cistercians, his greatest achievement was to restore the possibility of becoming a hermit.

It was a long and frustrating struggle, but he won through in the end by patient prodding and a passionately scholarly return to the sources of monastic life. But the more eremitical his life became, the more he was concerned with social protest. Silence and solitude sharpened his perceptions. He came to grasp that the idea of a separated holy existence was an illusion. "Thank God", he wrote in *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander*, "that I *am* like other men."

There was irony in his death. He was killed by a machine—he who had always hated machines, except the typewriter. His body was brought home in a plane belonging to the United States Army—he who had denounced its involvement in Vietnam. But there were mysterious correspondences too. He died exactly twenty-seven years after entering the Abbey of Gethsemani, and on the very day that Karl Barth died. He had once apostrophized Barth in words that can stand as his own epitaph: "Fear not, Karl Barth! Trust in the divine mercy. Though you have grown up to be a theologian, Christ remains a child in you. Your books (and mine) matter less than we might think! There is in us a Mozart who will be our salvation."

Indirect speech

By Meriol Trevor

ROBIN SELBY:
The Principle of Reserve in the Writings of John Henry Cardinal Newman
108pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £5.

To most Victorian Christians "reserve" meant hiding the truth or worse, hiding the secret papistry of the Oxford divines. But to Cardinal Newman it was a principle derived from the hiddenness of God and the finite nature of the human mind. Christ himself taught the crowds by parables, partly because direct words would be misunderstood, partly because no human words can directly express the mystery of God. Thus Newman's idea of "development", the gradual unfolding of revelation and growth in understanding of it, itself developed in Newman's own mind from this pondering on the limitations of human knowledge and the way people come to know what is ultimately incomprehensible except as it is revealed to them.

In this short, but thorough and well-written, study Robin Selby examines both reserve and the linked concept of "economy", pursuing the ramifications and modifications through all Newman's work, judiciously illuminating the published books with quotations from the letters. The implications Mr Selby draws out are extremely interesting, particularly in connexion with the idea of development and the argument of the *Grammar of Assent*. He traces back some themes (such as "antecedent probability") to Whately and the Oriel common-room and perceptively links Newman's theories with his character, his acute consciousness of self and psychological finesse.

The University Presses of California, Cornell, Johns Hopkins

2-4 Brook St., London, W.1

Dissent in the USSR
Politics, Ideologies, and People
Edited by Rudolf L. Tökés
Twelve leading experts on the USSR examine contemporary Soviet dissent as revealed in certain kinds of underground publications, or *samizdat*—book-length studies, memoirs, poetry, and songs. Drawing extensively on 1,500 *samizdat* documents collected in the West, personal interviews, and obscure Russian- and Western-language material which refer to Medvedev and Sakharov among others, these studies attempt to analyze the Soviet dissidents' record since the early 1960s from the vantage points of politics, history, sociology, philosophy, and law.
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The Soviet Image of Utopia
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Daniel P. Brower
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Edited by Isaiah Frank
Johns Hopkins. 352 pages. Cloth £8.80. Paper £2.00.

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Jay Fellows
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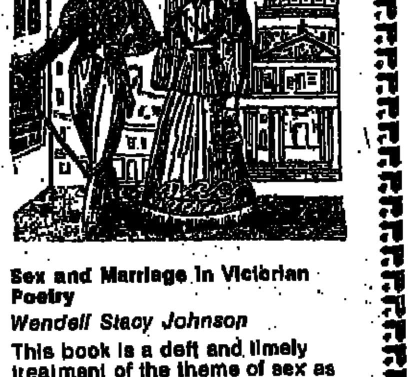
Johns Hopkins. 328 pages. £6.85.



Sex and Marriage in Victorian Poetry
Wendell Stacy Johnson
This book is a deft and timely treatment of the theme of sex as it is handled by the poets of the Victorian age, especially Tennyson and Browning. Professor Johnson is concerned with how the poets view sexual drive and frustrations, sexual roles, and sexual relations in and out of marriage.
Cornell. 288 pages. £6.85.

The Works of John Dryden
Volume XVIII: Prose
The History of the League, 1684
Edited by Alan Roper
The single work in this volume is reprinted in full for the first time since the edition of 1684. Dryden's long translation from the French of Louis Maimbourg has generally been ignored by students. The work, a minor piece by a major author, offers answers to many questions students have asked about Dryden.
California. 450 pages. £15.15.

The Novels of Claude Simon
J. A. E. Loubere
This lucid and illuminating study traces the development of an extraordinary experimental writer from his earliest work of the 1940's to his most recent fiction.
Cornell. 272 pages. £6.85.

The Hesse phenomenon

By Theodore Ziolkowski

SIEGFRIED UNSELD :
Begegnungen mit Hermann Hesse
268pp. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp. DM6.

FRITZ BOTTGER :
Hermann Hesse
550pp. Berlin: Verlag der Nation. 13.50M.

ADRIAN HSIA :
Hermann Hesse und China
338pp. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp. DM20.

The story of the sorcerer's apprentice, which dates back to classical antiquity, has become familiar to the modern world (via Paul Dukas's symphonic poem and Walt Disney's *Fantasia*) principally through a German adaptation: Goethe's ballad "Der Zauberlehrling". This provenance is appropriate because German history displays a disproportionately large number of cases in which forces—religious, intellectual, or cultural—unwittingly loosed by spiritual apprentices have run wild until they were brought under control by some latter-day sorcerer. Luther, Marx, and Nietzsche are three of the more famous "apprentices": the name of the master-magician who utters the conjuring vocable tends to be Politics.

It is not necessary to rank Siegfried Unseld along with the aforementioned or to equate Hermann Hesse with the great historical forces in order to perceive that the publisher's experience with his favourite author fit the pattern of the sorcerer's apprentice almost perfectly. The analogy is heightened by the publication of spell-books by other writers eager to summon the spirit of Hesse for their own ends.

When Unseld joined Suhrkamp in 1952—an ambitious young editor who had recently completed a doctoral dissertation on Hesse—the power in the publishing firm lay totally in the hands of the autocratic old sorcerer himself, Peter Suhrkamp. Suhrkamp and Hesse were good friends, having met in 1936 around the time when Suhrkamp assumed the management of S. Fischer Verlag because the Nazis had driven the Fischer family into exile. Hesse gave Suhrkamp his strong moral support during the following difficult years—especially in 1944 when the courageous publisher was arrested by the Gestapo and, accused of treason, imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. During the disagreements that prompted Suhrkamp in 1950 to break with the Fischer heirs and to establish his own firm, Hesse was one of the authors who remained loyal to him.

Suhrkamp, in turn, displayed an unflagging faith in Hesse's greatness—even in 1946 when Hesse slumped into despondency at the thought that he was going to die "not as a writer of German or European stature, but as a Swiss local poet who no longer exists for the outside world". (Later that year, of course, Hesse received the Nobel Prize.) The handsome six-volume edition of his works published for Hesse's seventy-fifth birthday in 1952 was a daring financial gamble that turned out to provide the mainstay of the firm during its first years.

Both Hesse and Suhrkamp were content with, indeed astonished at the solid *succès d'estime* that Hesse began to enjoy in Germany after many years of neglect. The two old cronies, who had been through much together and who shared the same rather aristocratic disdain of "popularity", resisted the enthusiastic suggestions of the eager young editor who was bursting with plans for popular editions, for recordings of the writer reading from his works, for pictorial biographies of the writer's life—public relations ventures, in short, that were designed to make Hesse and his works accessible to a much larger public. But Hesse and Suhrkamp rejected Unseld's proposals. When Unseld went to the United States in the late 1950s and bought back—for only $2,000!—the translation rights to Hesse's works, he had to connive with Hesse's wife since neither Suhrkamp nor Hesse had the least interest in the potential reception of Hesse's work in an America for which they felt little but contempt.

It was only after Suhrkamp's death in 1959 and Hesse's death in 1962 that the sorcerer's apprentice, now head of the thriving firm, was finally able to realize his plans. In Germany, to be sure, Hesse's popularity sank during the 1960s. But elsewhere in the world—from the United States and South America to India and Japan—Hesse became one of the most widely read European writers in modern history, owing at least in part to Unseld's skilful and determined translation policy. The successes abroad encouraged Unseld to undertake a major publication programme at home. The past dozen years have seen not only a twelve-volume paperback "Werkausgabe" but also more than two dozen separate economy editions of individual titles, volumes of letters, pictorial biographies in luxury and paperback editions, as well as recordings and a useful series of study volumes to accompany Hesse's major works.

Unseld's *Begegnungen mit Hermann Hesse*, which complements his "Werkgeschichte" of 1973, amounts to a documentary account of this publishing phenomenon. The first section records Unseld's personal obsession with Hesse even before he entered Suhrkamp's firm: his experiences as a reader of Hesse in the immediate post-war years, his early review of *Das Glasperlenspiel* for a student newspaper in Tübingen, as well as a chapter from his dissertation and his first letters to the revered author. The middle is devoted to Unseld's years as Suhrkamp's assistant and, increasingly, as Hesse's editor and friend. The last part reproduces various brief pieces (reviews, afterwords, talks) on Hesse's letters, politics, educational ideas, and so forth. The book concludes with a long speculation in which Unseld attributes Hesse's current popularity to the following reasons: the Oriental element in his thought and works, the subtle appeal of his language, his revolt against repression, and the pervasive theme of individuation.

Unseld's book contains little that was not already available, and there is considerable overlap among the various sections. In close juxtaposition, moreover, the author's organizational tricks become a bit obvious; for instance, Unseld has an almost mystical faith in the number four: he lists four causes for contemporary interest in Hesse, four themes of the Hesse-Suhrkamp correspondence, the four main topics of Hesse's letters, and so forth. Although the book adds little to our appreciation of Hesse's works, it constitutes a fascinating chapter in the history of German publishing and helps us to understand more fully the socio-literary circumstances underlying Hesse's current popularity.

There has been no shortage of potential sorcerers eager to channel the energies of the Hesse cult—from oriental gurus and pseudo-Jungians to drug-cultists and the manipulators of youth culture. Indeed, the naivety of cynicism of these false wizards has made them an easy target for the indignation of Marxist critics, who have sought to rescue Hesse from this capitalist exploitation for the cause of humanism. In an essay on "Hesse-Pflege und Hesse-Kult" (reprinted as an afterword to Fritz Böttger's biography) Hans-Joachim Bernhard suggests that many Western critics have tended to ignore or denigrate the humanistic aspect of Hesse's thought and work because it involves an explicit critique of capitalist society. Exploiting the current Hesse cult, the "imperialistischer Manipulationsapparat" has tried to depoliticize Hesse's youthful readers by propagating a view of the writer that emphasizes political apathy and inhibits social activism. It is the responsibility of socialist criticism, Bernhard concludes, to liberate Hesse from this debilitating imperialist idolatry (the "Hesse-Kult") and to expose the humanism underlying his thought and work—a gesture of "Hesse-Pflege" that is wholly compatible with thoughtful socialism.

Hesse's works have been popular in the German Democratic Republic for years. As early as 1952 two of his novels were published in an economy series, "Bibliothek Fortschrittlicher Deutscher Schriftsteller", and in 1972 *Narzissus und Goldmund* was at the top of the best-seller lists in the GDR. Occasional East German critics have dealt responsibly with Hesse: e.g. Hans Mayer's important essay of 1952, "Der Dichter und das feuilletonistische Zeitalter". But up to now no socialist critic had undertaken, thoroughly and systematically, a large-scale act of rehabilitation.

Böttger, known for his earlier biographies of Theodor Storm and C. D. Grabbe as well as for a series of editions (documentary lives of Gutzkow and Immermann, an anthology of *Vormärz* writings, Hoffmann's tales, Romantic novellas, etc), undertook his biography with the explicit intention of determining whether and to what extent Hesse's work can be "productively effective" in a contemporary socialist national culture (=the GDR). In the Marxist view, Hesse stands at the end of the bourgeois epoch: a critic of that age, he none the less bears all the stigmata of the period. His life, which spans the years from Bismarck's imperialism to the founding of the modern socialist states, becomes exemplary for the deviations of German history in the twentieth century.

It must be left to Böttger's readers in the GDR to measure the success of this ideological rescue mission. Ideology aside, however, it can be stated at the outset that Böttger has provided us with the most complete and readable biography of Hesse existing at present in any language (and including the works of Ball, Hefner, Gnefkow, Baumer, Zeller, Rose, and Stolte). In fact, it is not unfair to say that hitherto—and despite the considerable number of valuable critical studies—there had been no really comprehensive biography. Hugo Ball's still useful book of 1927 extended only to Hesse's fiftieth birthday (and Anni Carlsson's supplement of 1947 is critical, not biographical in focus). B. Zeller's biography, as reliable as it is, is cut to the specifications of a series (Rowohlt's "Bildmonographien"). Most of the other portrayals of "Leben und Werk" simply rehash the information already available in Ball and Zeller.

To be sure, Böttger's biography is neither perfect nor ultimately definitive. Above all, Böttger seems to have made no effort to consult the wealth of unpublished biographical documents in the various Hesse archives—notably Marbach. As a result, future biographers will continue to add depth and precision to our view of Hesse's life.

But it is Böttger's achievement to have made thorough, conscientious, and judicious use of all the published sources—ranging from the readily available editions of works, letters, and materials to the less easily accessible first editions, journals to which Hesse contributed, contemporary reviews of his works, reminiscences of former friends (e g, the autobiography of Ludwig Finckh), and so forth. And he has presented his findings in a straightforward style within a conventional chronological framework that differs reassuringly from the rather wilful organization sometimes featured by earlier German biographers in order to conceal the fact that they had done little systematic research.

Böttger's effectively illustrated *Hermann Hesse* excels in those sections where the task of biography is compatible with the author's ideological convictions—especially the first half of Hesse's life. Whenever Hesse is least individual and most clearly the product of time, place, and circumstance, Böttger's Marxist approach works very well, bringing out elements often ignored or underplayed by earlier biographers. Thus Böttger illuminates more clearly than anyone before certain influences in Hesse's childhood: the essentially reactionary nature of the pietist culture in which Hesse grew up, or the autocratic and fundamentally "pre-capitalistic" structure of his patriarchally organized family. To take a different kind of example, Hesse's retreat to the peasant village of Gaienhofen with his new wife in 1904 is plausibly related to the fashionable Rousseauism that informed other contemporary artist-groups like the colony at Worpswede, to which Rilke and his wife belonged.

As one would expect, Böttger singles out for particular attention those works that lend themselves most readily and fruitfully to Marxist analysis: *Unterm Rad* as an attack on the capitalist educational system or the Indian story "Robert Aghion" as an indictment of imperialism. Böttger argues that the frequent vagabonds who tramp through Hesse's works—from the earliest stories down through Knulp to Goldmund—personify a sometimes unconscious impulse of social protest. And he shows that the analogy to Gorky is at least as useful as the customary reference to Gottfried Keller in explaining Hesse's sympathy for social outcasts in such tales as "In der alten Sonne". Finally, Böttger has a striking gift for synthesis and rapid characterization: his accounts of Hesse's political writings, letters, late poems, and paintings, all show considerable insight into Hesse's mind and personality.

Whenever Hesse is most himself, however, Böttger is less persuasive. The biographical facts are still complete and reliable; but for at least three interrelated reasons the interpretation is no longer convincing. First, the traditional Marxist hostility to psychoanalysis leads Böttger to a false assessment of the impact of depth psychology on Hesse's thought and works. Böttger tends to underestimate the role of psychoanalysis in the fiction, ignoring it at points where it would be most useful and revealing for the interpretation of texts (e g, the *Märchen* and *Demian*). At the same time through a curious inconsistency, he exaggerates its importance in Hesse's life, attributing his shift away from realistic social criticism in his novels almost wholly to a misplaced enthusiasm for the theories of Freud and Jung.

Secondly, Böttger's allegiance to an ideology of total politics causes him to reproach Hesse for failing to do what he never intended to do: establish a consistent socio-political programme. (This leads one to suspect that Böttger has no sense of humour; for only the most earnest ideologue could seriously believe that Hesse, even had he put his mind to it, would ever have produced anything useful in the way of systematic political theory.) Finally, Böttger denies the legitimacy of purely aesthetic qualities. As a result, he takes Hesse to task for including in his "Kleine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur" such offensive items as the letters of Lord Chesterfield, De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, and Carlyle's lectures *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*, while omitting such stalwarts of the workers' movement as Herwegh and Freiligrath.

The tendency to play down the principally literary aspects means, more importantly, that Böttger provides a curiously one-sided interpretation of Hesse's major novels, all of which appeared during this later "individualistic" and "psychoanalytical" phase of Hesse's life. The confrontation of "light" and "dark" worlds in *Demian*, for instance, is reduced to a conflict between bourgeoisie and proletariat with no hint of the fascinating religious and psychological dimensions which that very image assumes. *Siddhartha* emerges as an anti-imperialist glorification of the past with no mention of the linguistic or structural features that make of the story an aesthetic tour de force. The spiritual goal of *Die Morgenlandfahrt* is found wanting because it does not include economic and political components.

What one misses here is any appreciation of those aspects of Hesse's works to which recent Western scholarship has devoted itself: notably the literary study of Hesse's images, structures, techniques, and sources. Böttger has little to learn about Hesse's life from earlier studies; but whenever he moves beyond simple biographical narrative into interpretation his book would have profited from incorporating more of the insights of existing "literary" criticism.

Böttger's ideological bias is apparent on almost every page, but he does not usually strain for his effects. (An exception is the chronological chart at the end, which irrelevantly mentions the entrance of Hesse's step-brother into the Maulbronn seminary in 1883 in order to justify the inclusion of Karl Marx's death that same year and which couples the success of *Peter Camenzind* in 1904 with the Sino-Russian War and the suppression of the Herer the German colonial wa Africa.) As a result, the boo be read appreciatively and p ably by non-Marxist Hesse sch In particular, Hesse's critici modern Western society and development of his "huma are presented with vivid shar and with results wholly comp with existing criticism in the As biographical narrative the is first-rate, and future biogr of Hesse will have to take account the impact of the soc frastructure on the "super ture" of Hesse's thought and w as exposed by Böttger. But reader seeking insights into He oeuvre as literature will contin look to the Western criticism of past decade.

Like Böttger, Adrian Hsia believes that Western criticis failed to do justice to Hesse magic word with which he co is "China". Hsia, a schola Chinese and comparative liter at McGill University in Mon assures us that although He acquaintance with classical Chi philosophy and literature was s only to that of expert Sinolo this significant aspect of his w has been largely neglected by Western scholars.

Hermann Hesse und China into two main parts. It be by surveying Hesse's knowledge Indic culture, summarizing implications of his upbringing in missionary family, the influence Schopenhauer, and the stimulati afforded by his favourite Roman writers. Hesse's subsequent acqu tance with Chinese culture can dated from a published review 1907 and traced down through trip to South-East Asia in 1911 to revision of his various opi during the 1920s and 1930s as studied China more systematical and intensively. (An appe contains a useful bibliography Hesse's writings on China as as a list of titles from the "Chi corner" of his library.)

Hsia details the extent of Hesse familiarity with Taoism, Confuci ism, Zen Buddhism, and Chine literature. This first half of th book, which along with the append reproduces virtually every utteran by Hesse with any bearing China, is a valuable source for one seeking information about He and China as well as an impres documentation of Hesse's gen erudition. Thanks to Hsia, we lize more clearly than ever be how extensive and, above all, profound Hesse's knowledge China was.

However, once we go beyond obvious examples of lite chinoiserie in Hesse's writi e g, the figure of the elder broth *Das Glasperlenspiel*—the becomes more problematic. In second part of *Hermann Hesse China*, which amounts to an atte to detect the impact of Chi thought and literature on w from the *Märchen* of around down to *Das Glasperlenspiel*, sometimes succumbs to the dange over-interpretation. Here again are valuable bits of information instance, Hsia has pinpointed precise source for various sce e g, the end of "Kurzgefa Lebenslauf", where Hesse imag that he disappears into a landsc that he has painted on the wall episode from the life of the pai Wu Tao Tse that Hesse found Fischer's *Chinesische Landsch malerei*). Yet all too often Hsia tents himself with the collation parallel passages taken out of text; and frequently he drag Chinese sources for matters (e.g. mirror motif in *Steppenwolf* or light and dark images in De that can be explained more rea and just as plausibly by Europ traditions.

Hsia's faith in the implication his approach along with his s times impatient attacks on scho who have interpreted Hesse fro different point of view produ curious likeness of tone betwee work and that of Böttger. In cases the author has gone abou business with the obsessive co rion that his method alone the magic word that can finally direction to a force releas by sorcerer's apprentice to the con ing and inconsistent claim of Western Hesse cult. Fortunatel is not necessary to believe in magical power of Marxism or Ch in order to profit from the subs tial contributions that both Bött and Hsia have made to our und standing of Hesse's life, though works.

By royal command

By A. H. Gomme

J. MORDAUNT CROOK and M. H. PORT :
The History of the King's Works
Volume 6 : 1782-1851
744pp and 66 illustrations. HMSO. £12.50.

is the final volume of the y of the King's Works, a pre- which the blurb over-ambitiously bes as the story of public in England; for the build- in question are only those taken as national—that is, or governmental—concerns. 1 and 2 came out in 1963; Volume 6 was published, as the tells us, in advance of its immediate predecessors be- they were not then ready. however, has been the re- 's lateness in getting down to that the middle will now soon be filled up and the set he can only remark that ardiness has a certain dry apt- a review of a book dealing in delays in presenting in completing buildings most especially—in paying men.

It is, among other things better the date when the old Office Works finally became a ministry full parliamentary control: seventy years covered by this begin with the passing of 's Civil Establishment Act, effect of which was to set in the long process by which a ine, largely self-directing, often remarkably efficient organization, often at odds the Government (especially, of the Treasury), was trans- into a department of bureau- government itself. How much efficiency of the Office in the and early 1790s (and indeed was due to the administra- bility, the scrupulous surveil- and above all the humanity the ever-admirable Sir William bers—a man who grows in the more we learn about —is evidenced by the utter which followed his death and accession to the surveyorship of James Wyatt. In J. Mor- t Crook's account of the decade 1782 the magnitude of the tional changes implied by the tends to be overshadowed the effect of these two remark- different personalities, and to extent by the absence of com- with the Office as it was the act. Wyatt's arrival, Dr aunt Crook writes,

> inaugurated a period of extravagance and confusion. The extravagance was supplied by the royal family. The confusion was largely its own creation. Quite simply, the new Surveyor General was an able absentee. He had the temperament of an artist and the s of a rake. As a designer fluency and inventiveness ped little short of genius. as administrator he was little than disastrous.

puts Wyatt very nicely into place, though it is a pity that rdaunt Crook has a tendency slip into unthinking use of : Chambers was quite as an artist as Wyatt, though "temperament" was very Elsewhere we read of a of works named Tildesley "his vile and intemperate made him the stormy of the department" — a able slur on a charming inoffensive bird: perhaps we read "maenad".

Wyatt's surveyorship is an ing story of lazy, slapdash and misconduct, during his subordinates became as and irresponsible as their going off to the seaside perate, stayed on holiday three years. Wyatt's own tuality and carelessness a public scandal (typical are his missing fifty board meetings and a of seven years in returning of official documents with- which certain business could proceed) — a scandal which ally ended in equally public and only lasted so long he was the King's favourite.

as such that in 1800, for , he got the commission to Kew Palace at an original of £40,000. Eleven years and only half-built, it had cost than half a million pounds, within little more than another it was blown up "unfinished unlamented". The Treasury have been heavy with irony in their "very great sur- at Wyatt's having exceeded estimate for alterations to the House by some 250 , especially as the original had never been delivered the Lord Chamberlain in the way". Or was the sur- that the excess was not

outcome of Wyatt's mis- ement was that the Office again reformed and placed the supervision of a full-time civil servant: henceforward architects were the subordinates of a surveyor whose job was entirely supervisory and administrative. Yet because of the lordly unscrupulousness of the Regent and of his own favourite architect, Nash (now one of the Office's three "attached architects"), the situation was in many ways no better. "The usual story of George IV's building activities" meant "changes of mind, alterations of plan, and a steadily mounting bill of costs." The story especially of the amassing of Buckingham Palace—a distressing parade of vain ambitions, incompetence, lax supervision, prevarication and pure botching—is told to the constant accompaniment of estimates prepared with gross carelessness and hugely exceeded and the inevitable consequence of unpaid workers and tradesmen. (But then at other times the Treasury's stinginess seems to have been so marked that it is hard to understand how the Office kept its employees.)

All in all one might think at times that the history of the lazaretto at Chetney Hill, near Queenborough, sums it all up: "It took fifty years to prepare, fifteen to construct and cost at least £170,000. But the combined efforts of Sir John Soane, James Wyatt and John Rennie merely produced a building which was not only never used but was pulled down before it was finished." Yet during these seventy years four very large projects were accomplished under the aegis, if not always the control, of the Office of Works—two of them of major architectural importance. Buckingham Palace, for all its size, is certainly not, and neither, though for different reasons, is that even larger royal display, Wyatville's recasting of Windsor Castle, during which what Queen Charlotte called "the coldest house, rooms and passages that ever existed" were transformed into one which was "warm, dry, comfortable [and] well-appointed". Muted praise, perhaps, for England's premier castle; but M. H. Port's judgment, not in itself original, is sober and fair:

> a masterpiece of Picturesque architecture that composes magnificently from almost any point of view, but does not bear inspection at close quarters, when Wyatville's coarse detailing and ubiquitous black ash mortar show a marked insensitivity to those variations in texture and profile that give life and interest to an ancient building. Windsor Castle is to all intents and purposes a nineteenth-century creation, and it stands as the image of what the early nineteenth century thought a castle should be.

It is a little hard on Mr Port that, while this volume was in the press, we could read Derek Linstrum's more eloquent and lively account of Windsor in his book on Wyatville; but one plum reserved for Mr Port is a letter from Sir Charles Long setting out the principles on which a restoration should be carried out and showing him to be an observer of knowledge, delicacy and judgment: there are not many of his contemporaries capable of affirming that

> the style of Alteration which I should most dread is that of *modern gothic Architecture*. By modern gothic Architecture I mean that which has been adopted in some of the most costly Mansions which have recently been erected—in which the repetition of small Towers appears to me to destroy the grandeur of the Edifice without adding at all to its beauty.

This was written in 1824, when Pugin was only twelve and Carter laughed at; Wyatville at least understood this point, though he was not himself sensitive enough to benefit from the examples which Long goes on to offer as showing how "the stern grandeur of the Castle Character yielded . . . to the more elegant and decorative style of the inhabited Mansion".

The two buildings which really count, architecturally speaking, are the British Museum and the new Palace of Westminster. In his book on neoclassicism Dr Mordaunt Crook has already told us of the museum (just as he earlier anticipated his account of Chambers at the Office of Works in his chapter in John Harris's book); here he has more space to document the genesis of Smirke's design and to demonstrate, beyond question, its originality and essential independence of near-contemporary German work: there is now no reason to doubt that the great columnar façade, as well as the courtyard plan, dates from the original inception and was complete (on paper) as early as 1823: it has been Smirke's bad luck that his reputation suffered at the time from the slow construction of the building (Dr Mordaunt Crook gives us examples of strikingly contrasted public opinion), and subsequently because the designs were published only gradually and have therefore been assumed to have been equally gradually evolved.

Dr Mordaunt Crook's account of the working out and building is the best piece of architectural history in the book, and he gives, too, some persuasive critical analysis:

> The Kings' Library . . . is almost certainly Smirke's finest interior design. Yet its spatial rhythms remain sluggish, and the general effect of its decoration is one of ponderous grandeur. The introduction of circular panels into the mass of plaster coffering is slightly anomalous; and the abrupt divisions created by the galleries detract from the room's lofty effect. The high cost of polishing the columns of Aberdeen granite with their Corinthian capitals of Derbyshire alabaster precluded the originally planned, and more effective, demarcation of the central area by eight additional columns. As it is, the yellow scagliola pilasters seem insufficiently substantial, unlike the doors at either end, heavily framed with architrave and console. Stylistically hybrid and spatially dull, the King's Library is fully redeemed by the integrity and magnificence of its decoration. In particular the details of the entablature show Smirke at his most fastidious.

How refreshing is the self-exposure of the critic as he registers the tension within his own experience!

The Palace of Westminster—the greatest building of the century in Mr Port's words—is of course a very old and well-worn story. Mr Port's study of the official documents has thrown a little new light on the argument over the degree of Pugin's responsibility for the design, but only to the extent of enabling him to "agree with Dr Stanton's conclusion that the exact nature of the collaboration between Barry and Pugin cannot now be sorted out in detail". (So far as concerns the working out of details during the later stages a little more *can* now be sorted out, as Duncan Simpson has been able to show.) The account of what is known of the growth of the design is sensibly given, though it is tiresomely pedantic not to take the story to the building's completion, even though this was after 1851. A great deal of that of the actual construction is devoted (as, evidently, was much of Barry's time) to the squabble with the "slippery" Dr Reid over the question of heating and ventilation.

Some of this matter, minutely researched, is in fact described twice over. (There are other repetitions and occasional minor contradictions to be found here and there, perhaps partly as a result of imperfect collaboration but in some measure due to the bipartite structure of the book.) Yet the historical value of the dispute, and especially of its day-to-day manifestations, is small—an observation which must indeed be made about a great deal of the contents of this large book. There are, especially in the descriptions of projects building by building in the latter half, many items which will interest architectural historians and even the general reader. (A special gem is a quotation from an unpublished letter of Pugin's about the burning of the gimcrack new front of the House of Lords in the great fire of 1834: "it was a glorious sight to see [Wyatt's] composition mullions and cement pinnacles and battlements flying and cracking, while his two and sixpenny turrets were smoking like so many perfunctory chimneys till the heat shivered them into a thousand pieces. The old walls stood triumphantly amidst the scene of ruin while brick walls, framed sashes, slate roofs fell faster than a pack of cards.") The first 250 pages, devoted to the administration of the Office of Works, will likewise have much of incidental interest for the historian of administration and the civil service. No one who has worked his way through the book will think of questioning the prodigious labour which has been needed to bring so enormous a quantity of material to the twilight of learned footnotes (though the editor warns us even so that "no one . . . who has not worked long hours in the Public Record Office can fully appreciate the sustained endeavour that lies behind the writing of this volume").

What the authors have not done—and the reason probably lies in the conception of the whole enterprise—is to turn the research into history. Far too much of the information in the text is really the subject-matter of a research file or at best an appendix—the names, positions and wages, for example, of often very minor employees. This is not of course to suggest that what a minor employee was paid is historically insignificant, but his personal details are. Perhaps it will please someone—his descendants?—to know that William Alexander Arnold, labourer in trust at Newmarket Palace under Wyatt, was "strictly sober and honest and perfectly capable", though William Miles Stone at Hampton Court was "frequently intoxicated"; but who is there so devoted to figures and records as to be cheered by the information that John Spence was paid £12 5s 11d in August 1976, for moving "books, papers, desks, etc" from the Office of Works' old premises to its new? Was that a lot or a little? How much did he have to carry? We are not helped by the authors to interpret such details or the endless business of minor administrative rules and changes, of pensions, increments and perquisites. In the upkeep of older buildings there is generally little to report but expenditure on routine repairs; yet this too is given in elaborate but unconsolidated detail, which is forgotten as soon as read and makes for very dull reading.

It is the lack of assimilation, of critical selection and interpretation which leaves the book as a whole below the level of historiography. Even the more interesting sections, which do give us an account of the design and growth of large or important buildings, for the most part stop short of critical analysis and therefore of history. This volume is the chronology of the last decades of the King's Works (though even at that level easy neither to read nor, probably, to use as a research tool); and it may be that when all six volumes have appeared, the *history* of the Works will still not have been written.

It remains, regrettably, to say that the production of this volume is not up to normal Stationery Office standards. It is excellently printed, but the illustrations (interestingly, though somewhat scantily, chosen from contemporary prints and drawings) are murkily reproduced. And in the copy sent for review the binding has failed badly at one hinge, owing to inadequate gluing, weak end-papers and perhaps also to the omission of an entire signature: pages 567-582 have accordingly on this occasion not been reviewed.

By sun, wind and water

By A. C. Hardy

PHILIP STEADMAN :
Energy, Environment and Building
287pp. Cambridge University Press. £5.40 (paperback, £2.50).

The title of Philip Steadman's very useful book is somewhat misleading, in that it is mainly concerned with the technology of harnessing solar, wind and water power to provide alternative forms of energy for building use. As such it is a comprehensive survey in response to the worldwide interest in alternative forms of energy as a means of conserving primary energy resources.

The first chapter discusses energy use in buildings and possible action in both proposed and existing buildings to reduce energy consumption. While satisfactory coverage is given to all the principles involved, I feel that a stronger case should have been made for higher standards of thermal performance. Buildings in both the United States and north-western Europe are notoriously inefficient in their ability to modify the external climatic conditions, and certainly it would not be difficult, or expensive, to reduce the annual energy consumption for space heating and cooling to about half of what it is at present, thereby increasing the economic viability of alternative forms of energy.

Although written and published in Britain, *Energy, Environment and Building* is aimed at the American market—all the units used are imperial with only the occasional conversion to metric—and this impairs its usefulness in Europe. In addition, the majority of examples described in the bibliographies are from United States sources. This being so, the climatic zones from which the examples are taken span approximately 30° to 50° North. More attention should perhaps have been given to identifying the climatic zones in which solar energy is likely to be a viable proposition, as there are many countries, particularly in north-western Europe, where the availability of solar radiation is such that the major economic problem is the provision of long-term heat storage.

While consideration is given to the reduction of energy consumed by building services in general, the standard manufacturers' data on efficiency of the conversions of fuel to heat is given. This is now known to be often over-optimistic, being based on laboratory tests rather than field measurement. The use of real measured efficiencies can result in a very different ranking order in the choice of fuels.

The recovery of heat from artificial lighting is discussed; but again this is based on the very high levels of lighting in the United States where both air and water cooling have to be used, not only to recover heat, but to maintain lighting efficiency. The relative efficiencies of heat recovery systems are considered, but the possibility of using more efficient fittings and lower illumination levels is not pursued. Similarly, although it is stated that recovered heat can be stored for re-use, the experience in Britain is that often it takes more energy to circulate heat into a store and then recirculate it out again than to use a primary energy source.

The chapter on solar energy discusses the basic principles involved in the design of solar collectors and energy storage systems and is illustrated with diagrams and lists of the manufacturers of solar water-heaters. The study of solar energy for space heating is comprehensive and includes a well-documented section on prototype buildings using solar heating with details concerning their location, construction and technical information on the design of their systems.

In a largely historical chapter, Dr Steadman describes the use of wind power to provide an electrical supply. I would have thought that consideration should also have been given to the use of windmills to provide energy for space or water heating.

The final chapters deal with small-scale water power, composting of waste material and methane gas production. The chemistry of composting is clearly described and the technical problems discussed. In addition there are notes on water conservation and some autonomous and ecological building projects are described. Mr Steadman supplies check lists for conservation action and extensive bibliographies.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LIBRARIANS

BATH COLLEGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Sion Hill Place, Bath, BA1 5SF. Requires a TUTOR/LIBRARIAN to serve at the former college of Home Economics.

Salary—Pelham Lecturer (1) Scale: £3,279 to £5,493 p.a.

Further details of the post and forms of application may be obtained from the principal at the above address.

THE CITY UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY ASSISTANT

Required for University Library. Five G.C.E. passes at "O" level or the equivalent are required. Salary scale £2,202-£2,807 p.a. or £2,717-£3,272 p.a., entry point determined by age, experience and qualifications.

Application forms are available from The Librarian, The City University, St. John Street, London EC1V 4PB.

JORDANHILL COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
SCOTTISH CENTRE FOR SOCIAL SUBJECTS

LIBRARIAN/INFORMATION OFFICER

APPLICATIONS are invited for the post of LIBRARIAN/INFORMATION OFFICER. The person appointed will be responsible for the development of a resource centre of teaching and learning materials in the Social Subjects (History, Geography, Economics and Modern Studies) for use in curriculum development in secondary schools throughout Scotland.

Candidates must have a qualification in Librarianship and have a particular interest in information science and its applications.

The appointment will be from 1st December, 1975, or such other date as may be arranged.

The salary scale is £3,474 to £4,395, with placing according to experience and qualifications.

Application forms and further particulars can be obtained from the College Secretary, Jordanhill College of Education, Southbrae Drive, Glasgow G13 1PP.

COMMONWEALTH INSTITUTE
LIBRARY AND RESOURCE CENTRE

LIBRARY TYPIST required with good typing proficiency. Duties will include assisting the Chief Librarian. Wide variety of interesting work. Experience of bibliographical typing an advantage. Mature candidates welcomed.

Pleasant working environment, five-day week of 41 hours, flexible working times.

Starting pay £37.15 p.w. with annual increments to £40.15 p.w. Permanent, non-contributory pensionable post. Please write for application form to the Establishment Officer, Commonwealth Institute, Kensington High Street, London W8 6NQ, quoting ref. LRC/5.

LONDON BOROUGH OF HAVERING
LIBRARIES AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES DIVISION

SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN (Chartered). Salary £3,183-£3,513 p.a. To give professional assistance in the libraries of large comprehensive schools.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIANS (newly qualified two posts). Salary £2,790-£3,043 p.a. To give professional assistance in major branch libraries and busy departments.

Application forms and further details from: Borough Librarian and Arts Officer, Central Library, Romford, RM1 3AR. Tel. Rom. 44297. Closing date: 10th October 1975.

LEEDS CITY COUNCIL
DEPARTMENT OF LEISURE SERVICES
LIBRARIES DIVISION

ASSISTANT AREA LIBRARIAN GRADE SO1

Salary: £4,239 to £4,545

APPLICATIONS are invited from Chartered Librarians with considerable experience of all aspects of Branch Library Services. Further details are obtainable from A. V. Craven, Director of Library Services, Central Library, Calverley St., Leeds LS1 3AB.

Applications, stating age, qualifications and experience with the names of two referees should be sent to Director of Leisure Services, Selector Post 10, Merrion House, 110 Merrion Way, Leeds LS2 8QB, by 6th October, 1975.

CHARTERED LIBRARIAN

GREATER GLASGOW HEALTH BOARD
WESTERN DISTRICT

SCHOOL OF NURSING FOR GLASGOW WESTERN AND GARTNAVEL HOSPITALS

As the present Librarian is going for service with the Voluntary Service Overseas, we require a CHARTERED LIBRARIAN who will be responsible for providing support service to Nurse Education Curriculum at the Western and Gartnavel Hospitals. 35 hour week. Whitley Council Conditions of Service.

Applications to Miss J. G. MacFarlane, Principal Nursing Officer, School of Nursing, Gartnavel General Hospital, 1053 Great Western Road, Glasgow, G12 0YN. Closing date for return of applications 30th September, 1975.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF CALDERDALE

APPLICATIONS are invited for a POST of BRANCH LIBRARIAN on Librarians Scale (within £2,127-£3,282).

Further details from Chief Librarian, Libraries Department, Wellesley Park, Gibbet Street, Halifax HX2 0BA.

BOROUGH OF LLANELLI

BOROUGH SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT

PUBLIC LIBRARY
MOBILE LIBRARIAN

(Post Ref. BS/PL/6721)

Grade AP 3/4 (£2,922-£3,702)

APPLICATIONS are invited from QUALIFIED LIBRARIANS for the above POST in the Llanelli Public Library.

Llanelli is an independent library authority serving a population of 78,000 within an area of 90 square miles. The service is modern and progressive and affords a good opportunity to a young professional to gain varied experience with responsibility. Further information can be obtained from the Borough Librarian at the Public Library.

Forms of application can be obtained from the undersigned and should be returned, together with the names and addresses of two referees not later than noon on Monday, 6th October, 1975.

Eric P. Williams, Borough Secretary, Town Hall, Llanelli.

NORFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL

COUNTY LIBRARY

GORLESTON BRANCH LIBRARY

EAST NORFOLK DIVISION

CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN

(Librarians Scale £2,127-£3,282)

Qualified Librarian required for the new Gorleston Branch Library opening in October 1976.

The County Council will reimburse 100 per cent of the cost of removal expenses and up to £250 disturbance allowance.

Application forms and further particulars obtainable from the Divisional Librarian, Central Library, Tolhouse Street, Great Yarmouth NR30 2SH, to whom applications should be sent by 10th October, 1975.

NORTH EAST LONDON POLYTECHNIC

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

is required at the Barking Precinct, Longbridge Road, Dagenham, Essex. Duties will be involved with inter-library loans, periodicals, bibliographies and catalogue work.

Library experience and qualifications would be an advantage.

Salary dependent on age, qualifications and experience will be on a scale ranging £2,388 to £3,543 per annum inclusive.

For an application form please contact the Personnel Office Ref.: S.AML22, North East London Polytechnic, 109 The Grove, Stratford, E.15 (Telephone 01-555 0811 Ext. 53).

Closing date: 10 October, 1975.

ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL MEDICAL SCHOOL

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY MEDICINE

LIBRARY ASSISTANT required for busy multi-disciplinary research and teaching unit housed in separate building close to main hospital. Duties will include assistance to readers and inter-library loans. Season ticket loans, social club, subsidised meals.

Salary within the range of £1,560 to £2,283 according to age and experience plus £312 London Weighting.

Applications should be sent to Professor W. W. Holland, Department of Community Medicine, St. Thomas's Hospital Medical School, London SE1 7EH, by Monday, 6th October 1975.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN with A.L.A. required to take charge of branch library of Institute of Cancer Research at Sutton, Surrey. Experience in a medical or scientific library useful. Starting salary in region of £2,650 to £3,000 according to age and experience in scale extending to £4,000 approximately. Apply in duplicate to the Secretary, 34 Sumner Place, London SW7 3NU giving names of two referees and quoting ref. 304/B/54.

REMINDER

COPY FOR CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE T.L.S. SHOULD ARRIVE NOT LATER THAN 10.30 a.m. MONDAY PRECEDING THE DATE OF PUBLICATION.

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE POLYTECHNIC
Beaconside, Stafford

ASSISTANT TUTOR/LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited from graduate Chartered Librarians for the post of Assistant Tutor/Librarian (Modern Studies) at the Polytechnic Library, Stafford. Salary will be in accordance with the Lecturer Grade II Scale, £3,279-£5,493 per annum.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Establishment Officer, North Staffordshire Polytechnic, Beaconside, Stafford ST18 0AD.

Closing Date: 10th October, 1975.

THE SCOTTISH ARTS COUNCIL

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND PUBLISHING RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

Applications are invited for the newly established Publishing Research Fellowship which is to be based at the National Library of Scotland. The purpose of the Fellowship is to research and produce a report on publishing in Scotland in the period 1914-1964.

It is expected that the appointment will be for two years from 1st January, 1976. The Fellowship is a part-time post.

The successful applicant will be expected to demonstrate a combination of a knowledge of research procedures with an understanding of publishing practice. A working knowledge of Scottish literature is essential.

The salary will be £2,500 per annum.

Further information from the Literature Director, Scottish Arts Council, 19 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh EH2 4DF, to whom applications in writing should be sent by 11th October, 1975.

We are a subsidiary of Times Newspapers Limited, concerned with the compilation of the index to The Times and related publications

We are looking for people who have an awareness of current affairs and a good all round education to join our team of abstractors. No formal qualifications or specialized knowledge is required but the ability to work conscientiously at speed and at a high level of accuracy without close supervision is essential. Training will be given.

Salary at 21 £2,129 per annum. Four weeks holiday in the first year and five thereafter.

Applications should be sent in writing to:

The Editor,
Newspaper Archive Developments Limited,
16 Westcote Road, Reading.
Berkshire.

City of Aberdeen

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

Librarian-in-charge

Commercial Department

Applications are invited for the post in the Commercial Department which is a Reference and Lending Department.

Applicants must be chartered librarians and be experienced in this type of work and in the supervision and control of staff. The salary is AP III (£3,474-£3,825) plus shift allowance.

Further details may be obtained from the City Librarian, Central Library, Rosemount Viaduct, Aberdeen AB9 1GU, who should receive all applications by 30th September, 1975.

J. F. WATT, Town Clerk & Chief Executive.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE LIBRARIES
EASTERN DIVISION

Group Librarian

Salary Scale AP3: £2,922 to £3,282.

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for a post as member of the professional team. In the first instance the post will be one of Group Librarian, but staff appointed are expected to play a full part in the organization and development of library services throughout the division.

Disturbance, removal and lodging allowances payable in approved cases.

A job description, further details of the structure and an application form are available from the Assistant County Librarian, Eastern Divisional Headquarters, Gordon Avenue, March, Cambridgeshire PE15 8AL, to whom applications must be returned by the 11th October, 1975.

GATESHEAD METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCIL

Public Libraries and Arts Department

BRANCH LIBRARIAN

Salary—AP3 (£2,922-£3,282)

Applications are invited from qualified librarians for the above post.

Salary and Conditions of Service are in accordance with the NJC Agreement for APT and C Services.

Application forms are obtainable from the Director of Personnel and Management Services, 16 Regent Terrace, Gateshead, returnable by 7th October, 1975.

CRAIGIE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, AYR

LIBRARY

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the post of

Cataloguer

in this multi-media library of 45,000 volumes. The successful applicant will be responsible to the Principal Librarian for the classification and cataloguing of all forms of library stock including non-book materials of all types.

Salary scale for this post is NJC A/P III-IV (£3,474-£4,395) with placing to be arranged.

Further information and forms of application may be obtained from the College Secretary, Craigie College of Education, Ayr KA8 0SR to whom completed application forms should be returned by 15th October, 1975.

Inner London Education Authority

LIBRARIAN POSTS (LIB. III)

Chartered Librarians

are needed for posts in:

(1) The Beaufoy School
Lollard Street, SE11 6PY.

(2) Islington Green School
Prebend Street, N.1.

(3) Thamesmead School
Camrose Street, Thamesmead, S.E.2 (to be called Waterfield).

Half-time vacancies exist in:

(4) London Nautical School
Stamford Street, Blackfriars SE1 9NA.

(5) St. William of York R.C. School
Gifford Street, N1 0DE.

Salary pro-rata of the full-time rate.

Salary scale: £3,326-£4,169 (including £416 London allowance).

Application forms and further details from the Education Officer, E.O./Estab. 2A/1, Room A4B, Addington Street Annexe, London SE1 7PE. 01-633 5772.

Completed application forms to be returned not later than Friday, 10 October, 1975.

WILTSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

Education Department—Careers Service

INFORMATION OFFICER

SO1—£4,239-£4,545

The person appointed will be required to organise a Careers Information Service for a new forward looking Careers Service. Applications are sought from experienced Careers Officers with an interest in information work or Chartered Librarian with experience of information work in the careers or further education field.

Application forms and details from the County Personnel Officer, County Hall, Trowbridge, returnable by 10th October, 1975, quoting reference NA.75.314.

Librarian

£3,747-£4,083 p.a. inc.

This is a new post created with the aid of a Home Office Grant. The successful candidate will have the responsibility of selecting and cataloguing Indian Languages material and making contacts between the libraries and the Asian communities. Applicants must be qualified librarians and have a working knowledge of Gujarati and Urdu.

Five day week, 24 days holiday. Annual season ticket loan.

Application form available from the Personnel Management Division, Westminster City Hall, Victoria Street SW1E 6QW. Tel. No: 01-834 5958 (24-hour Ansafone service). Quote reference number LIB/7. Closing date 7th October, 1975.

Serve in the City of Westminster

LIBRARIANS

LONDON BOROUGH OF BROMLEY
BOROUGH LIBRARIANS' DEPARTMENT

Children's Librarian

Beckenham District Library

£2,388-£3,114/£3,543 (inc. L.W.)

Required to assume responsibility for all aspects of the Children's Library Service at this District Library.

Applicants should either be Chartered Librarians, or possess Library Association Pt. II Examination, including List B, Paper 32—Library Service to Young People. Experience in children's library work or at least an interest in it, and a good working knowledge of children's literature is preferred.

Commencing salary to be at least 11th point of scale (£2,922 + £261 L.W.) for possession of Pt. II Examination. Also 1½ plain time rate for all hours worked as part of the normal working week on Saturdays.

Ref. K72.

Please send for application form and further details to the Head of Personnel Services, Town Hall, Bromley BR1 1SB. Tel.: 01-464 3333, Ext. 318. Closing date 7th October, 1975.

BEDFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL
COUNTY LIBRARY

School Librarians

Needed for:-

Beech Hill High School, Luton

Stockwood High School, Luton

Denbigh High School, Luton

Chartered Librarians with experience in school or college librarianship or in public libraries are invited to apply.

Salary: Librarian's Career grade £2,922-£4,095 (inclusive of threshold). Progression beyond £3,282 and £3,702 is dependent upon the level of responsibility undertaken.

First class fringe benefits.

Application forms and further details from
Personnel Officer, County Hall, Bedford. Tel.: Bedford 63222, Ext. 108.

BORDERS REGIONAL COUNCIL

CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN
HAWICK LIBRARY
£2,922-£3,282

Applications are invited for the above post in the Education Department, Library Services.

The person appointed will be responsible for all work with children and young people, including liaison and book supply to suit local schools.

Applicants should preferably be Chartered Librarians, but applications will be considered from candidates who have passed Part II of the L.A. examinations or its equivalent.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Head of Personnel and Management Services, Regional Headquarters, Newtown St. Boswells TD6 0SA, with whom applications should be lodged not later than 20th October, 1975.

BRADFORD COLLEGE

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Qualified Librarian required for a wide range of duties in an expanding service. Some experience of classification and cataloguing would be an advantage. Initial placement will be at the Westbrook Building, and will entail some evening work.

Salary scale AP2/3 £2,529-£3,262 p.a. according to experience, with NJC conditions of service.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT

The post, at the Westbrook Building, offers varied and interesting opportunities. Some evening work would be entailed. Candidates should have two A levels.

Salary on Clerical 1 Bar Scale £1,215-£2,193 p.a. minimum £1,464 p.a. at age 21 and the NJC Conditions of service.

Application forms and further details of the above vacancies can be obtained from, Staffing Officer, Bradford College, Great Horton Road, Bradford 7, and must be returned within 10 days of the appearance of this advertisement.

BOROUGH OF SUNDERLAND

Arts Department

Applications are invited for the post of

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF ARTS (LIBRARIES)

(£6,729-£7,407)

The successful candidate will be responsible for the management of the Central Library (in a building shared with the Tyne-Wear County Council Museum) and sixteen branch library service points.

The Central Library services include adult lending, children's and reference and information libraries, schools' library service, a modest hospital library service, housebound readers' and mobile library services and gramophone record library. In addition, a large central-type library, currently under construction at Washington New Town, is due to come into operation in the Spring of 1976 with certain staff already in post.

The Department is currently involved in preparations for the computerisation of certain services.

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians with appropriate experience in the development of comprehensive modern library services and the promotion of the Arts generally.

Application forms and further particulars obtainable from the undersigned at the address shown below should be returned within 14 days of the publication of this advertisement.

Town Hall & Civic Centre, Sunderland, SR2 7DN.

L. A. BLOOM, Chief Executive.

AUSTRALIA

University of Melbourne

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The University Library under the leadership of the Librarian, Mr. W. D. Richardson, is strengthening its senior management structure by the appointment of Associate Librarians with responsibilities in Administration, Resources, Services and Systems. Applications are now invited from professional librarians with appropriate experience for appointment as:

Associate Librarian
(RESOURCES)

Associate Librarian
(SERVICES)

Associate Librarian
(SYSTEMS)

The Associate Librarian (Resources) will be concerned with resource development including the procurement and bibliographic organisation of library materials. The Associate Librarian (Services) will be concerned with reader services in both the Baillieu Library and branch libraries. The Associate Librarian (Systems) will be responsible for the application of automation to the library.

Together with the University Librarian, the four Associates will comprise a Corporate Planning Group responsible for the planning and development of all services administered by the Library. The present Deputy Librarian, will become Associate Librarian (Administration) and Deputy Librarian.

Applicants should have demonstrated capacity to contribute creatively to the long-term development of a major research library serving both the teaching and research needs of one of Australia's largest universities. They should be dynamic and forward looking and able to take a wide ranging view of the future information needs of universities, and the potential of new technologies to assist in meeting these needs.

Salary in the range $A16,980 to $A20,202.

Further information from the Registrar or the University Librarian. Applications, which should include the names of three referees, should be addressed to the Registrar, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052 Australia.

City of Salford

CULTURAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

ASSISTANT CHILDREN'S SERVICES LIBRARIAN

A.P.5. £3,825-£4,095

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the post of Assistant Children's Services Librarian with special responsibility for the services to schools.

The post will be based in Salford Central Library and carries a casual user car allowance.

Post reference no. C1016/TLS.

The post is permanent, superannuable and subject to medical examination.

Commencing salary will reflect experience and qualifications.

Please write or telephone 061 794 4711, ext. 261 for an application form quoting post reference number to the Personnel Manager, Salford Civic Centre, Swinton M27 2AD, to whom they should be returned by 10th October, 1975.

RU **leiden**

La FACULTE des LETTRES de l'UNIVERSITE de LEYDE (Pays-Bas) fait savoir que, selon toute probabilité, sera vacante dans un avenir prochain la

CHAIR DE LITTÉRATURE FRANCAISE MODERNE

Le futur titulaire de ce poste doit remplir les conditions suivantes :

1. posséder des connaissances approfondies de la littérature française depuis 1500 et s'être spécialisé dans un ou plusieurs domaines de cette littérature ;
2. être disposé à s'intéresser, aux recherches des étudiants, être capable de diriger celles-ci et d'établir des programmes de recherches, également en dehors du domaine de ses propres spécialités ;
3. être prêt à se charger d'activités diverses relatives à l'administration et l'organisation des études, ce qui implique les conditions suivantes :
   - a. savoir le néerlandais ou être disposé à en acquérir la connaissance dans les plus brefs délais ;
   - b. être prêt à résider à Leiden (Leyde) ou à proximité de cette ville ;
   - c. porter de l'interet aux problèmes relatifs à l'enseignement du français en Hollande.

Pour de plus amples renseignements on peut s'adresser à M. Q. I. M. Mok, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres, 220, Kennedylaan, Oegstgeest (tél. 071-155933).

Les candidatures doivent être envoyées, accompagnée d'un curriculum vitae ainsi que d'une liste de publications de l'intéresse, avant le 15ième octobre 1975, à Monsieur le Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres, 73, Rapenburg, Leiden. Les personnes qui voudraient attirer l'attention de la Faculté sur d'eventuels candidats sont priées de faire part de leur suggestions à Monsieur le Doyen de la Faculté, également avant le 15ième octobre 1975 (vac no 875 337).

Librarian

c. £4,000

The Food, Drink and Tobacco Industry Training Board's Information Service is made up of a team of seven people and is centred round a small but effective library. Its main function is to meet and, where possible, to anticipate the information needs of a staff of 80 professional Training Advisers. A vacancy now arises for a Librarian to be responsible for the library functions of the service, which is presently based in Croydon.

The successful candidate will, however, be required to relocate within the Gloucester/Cheltenham area by mid-1976 when the projected move of the Board takes place. Relocation costs will be met by the Board.

The Librarian will be responsible for two assistants and a part-time classifier. He or she will be expected to maintain and develop an already professional library service and will have particular responsibility for book selection, classification and cataloguing, information searches and compiling bibliographies. He or she will also assist other professional staff of the Board in providing a current awareness service.

Applicants should be Chartered Librarians with a good general library background and preferably with at least 2-3 years' experience of specialist library work in the educational, commercial or management fields. This interesting and challenging job will appeal to someone with a lively flexible mind who is willing to take a keen interest in training.

Starting salary around £4,000 plus fringe benefits. Applications with full details of qualifications, experience and present salary should be addressed to:-

I. T. Atkins, Staff Administration Manager, Food, Drink and Tobacco Industry Training Board, Leon House, High Street, Croydon CR9 3NT.

Librarian-in-Charge

MOBILE SERVICES £4,620-£4,926 SO.1

A chartered librarian is required to promote and maintain the efficient running of the Wandsworth Mobile Libraries Services with the help of 11 staff. There are two articulated mobile libraries serving 14 sites together with three vans serving 650 housebound readers. Included in the Mobile Services is the control of one hospital library and one prison library together with bulk loans to 40 old peoples' homes. The possession of a HGV licence Class 1 would be an advantage, but any driver holding a normal licence willing to train for the HGV licence will be taken into consideration. Previous applicants need not re-apply.

Further details and application forms from the Borough Librarian, West Hill District Library, Wandsworth S.W.18. Tel. 874 1143, ext. 2

Closes October 9, 1975.

LONDON BOROUGH OF
Wandsworth